THE SURVEY

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The Gist of It

MISS COLTON'S adventures serve to remind us that, in the bulk and for most of mankind, politics is something going on steadily between national elections and concerned chiefly with aldermen, state legislators, mayors, governors, party whips and local bosses rather than the candidates who are given a hook-up for a radio audience of thirty millions. Miss Colton got into politics—of the League of Women Voters variety—through social work, as readers of her Adventures in Philanthropy in the Graphic of May, 1927, will recall. Of her political training she lists these successive steps: vice-president of the Toledo Nurses' Aid, trustee of the District Nurse Association, vice-president of the Federation of Charities, past president of the Ohio League of Women Voters, perennial trustee of the Toledo Consumers' League, treasurer of the Information Bureau on Women's Work; and the author of articles in Scribner's, The Outlook, The Woman's Journal, The Survey and elsewhere. Page 533.

PAUL A. SCHOELLKOPF discusses the responsibility of a corporation and its branch plants for local welfare on a double basis of understanding, for he is both in business on a large scale and up to his elbows in community chest work. He is president of the Niagara Falls Power Company and a director of other corporations including two banks. Since its beginning in 1924, he has been a member of the board of the Community Chest in Niagara Falls, N. Y., and he is on the board of the National Association of Community Chests and Councils. At the recent Washington meeting of the association, he was in charge of the discussion of corporation responsibility for community welfare. Other public connections are with the Chamber of Commerce, the Memorial Hospital and the Y.M.C.A. of Niagara Falls. Page 540.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS, in his article on page 541, brings to a close his searching discussion of how to provide adequate doctoring, nursing, and preventive health work for Tom, Dick and Harry—for you and me. The legitimate high cost of modern medical service on an individual basis leaves no way out except some sort of cooperative action, probably in the form of health insurance. Americans have stuck stubbornly to their individualism. But as we increasingly realize that a man's health is not solely his own concern, and that any one of us may any day be struck down by a devastatingly expensive sickness or accident, the sooner we shall realize that we must, in sheer self-defense, pool our resources.

ROBERT W. BRUÈRE has recently been accused of favoring company unions against trade unions. Here he discusses his point of view against the background of the smoothly functioning organization in the factory of a socially minded Quaker manufacturer of scientific instruments. Page 545.

SEPTEMBER means vacations ended, and parents and educators concentrated on the serious side of their job. Beneath the activity of getting Tommy's and Mary's new school outfits, of planning the first month's program and unboxing the new term's books, there is fresh question and analysis of the process we call education and the part in it of school and home, of teacher, parent and child. The Survey's contribution to this seasonal "peak interest" in schools and schooling is a verbatim report of a new sort of school play and a discussion of dramatics as a basis for a new sort of school experience (page 550). MARGARET NAUMBURG, who writes the article, is not only a trained psychologist and an educational philosopher, but a teacher who has applied her theories to real children in real class-rooms, at the Walden School, New York, which she founded and directed, and of which Margaret Pollitzer is now the head. A second article by Miss Naumburg, a challenge of the widely heralded project method, will appear in The Survey's regular education department in the September Midmonthly.

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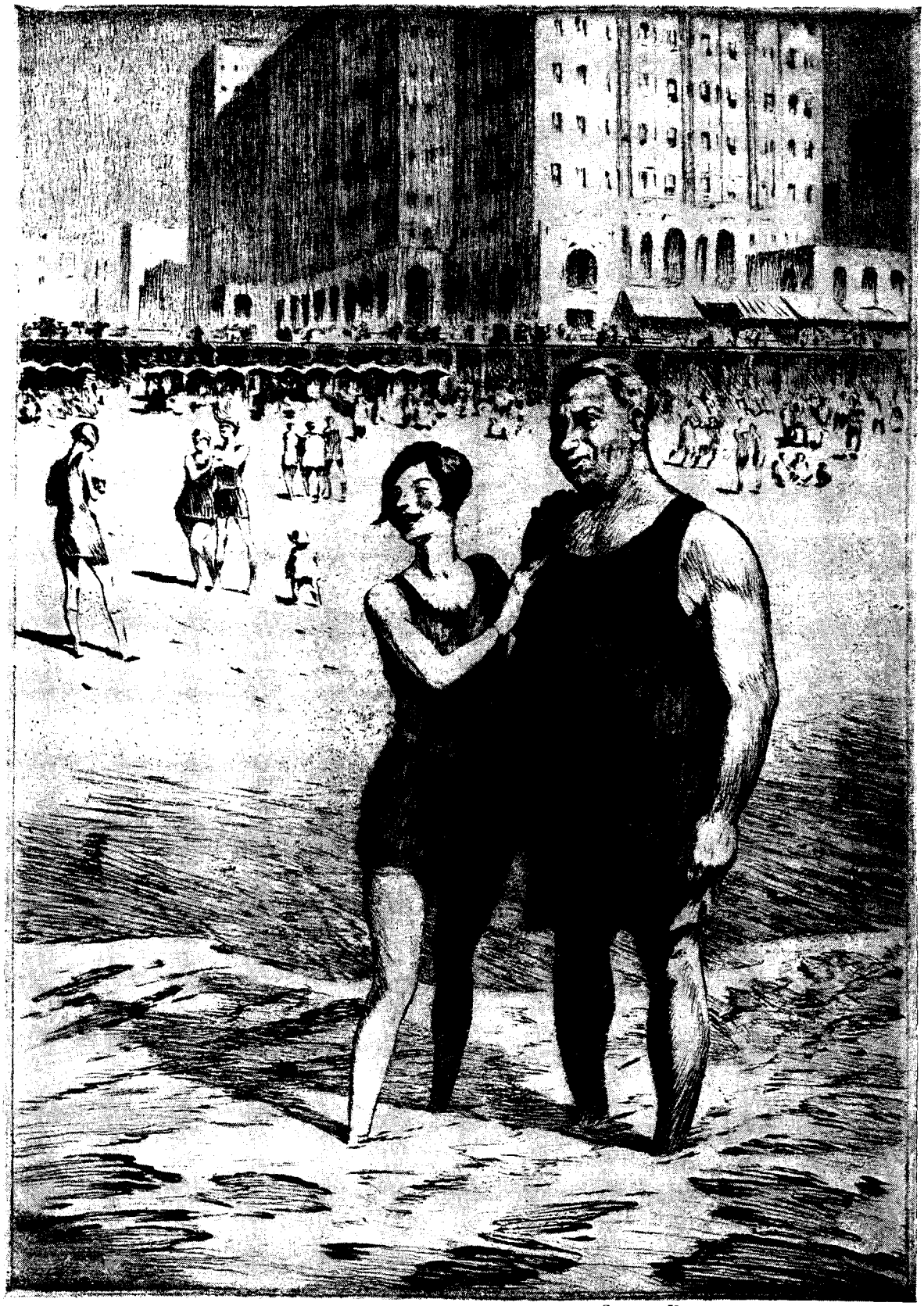

Courtesy Kennedy and Company, New York

THE BUTTER-AND-EGG MAN'S HOLIDAY

By Martin Lewis

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THE SURVEY
GRAPHIC NUMBER

SEPTEMBER 1, 1928

Volume LX
No. 11

Adventures of a Woman Voter

By OLIVE A. COLTON

ALTHOUGH one of the babes-in-the-woods of politics, nothing made me realize how far we had wandered from home so much as the question, one afternoon at a meeting, of another speaker. "What is your subject?" she asked, and when I answered, "A Woman Citizen,"—"O, *politics!*" she exclaimed in dismay. "Mine is, A Woman in the Church. I'm doing the Lord's work," which seemed to leave the women citizens in rather bad company.

Some time before this, various adventures in philanthropy had indicated that the wisest way to lessen the poverty of the world was to prevent it, and that much of the misery came from poor government and economic greed. So I embarked with the League of Women Voters on their maiden voyage to train their members to help run the ship of state. Being a vice-president promised to be an enjoyable honor, until it became apparent that people expected one to know the unknown. They would ask embarrassing questions about how to find their ward and precinct, or worse, how large was a precinct, and when was the next election of senators? To save myself from public disgrace there was nothing left to do but plunge into books, and attend the city council and lectures. I positively hungered for pamphlets on civics, and league conventions became my university.

But the proceedings of Congress were not easily assimilated, and I was fortunate in going to Washington to acquire a better metabolism by observing the government in action. There, however, it was evident that Mrs. O'Flaherty's remarks were no joke, when in a little gossip over the back fence with Mrs. Flanagan, she criticized our Get-Out-the-Vote Campaign. "No," she declared, "I ain't goin' to vote now, and I ain't goin' to vote never, cuzz there's things goin' on in Washington, Mrs. Flanagan, that you and me is well out of."

The first shock came from the absentees in the Senate. My friends were lobbying for the Maternity and Infancy Bill, and when Senator Sheppard arose to present his measure, instead of the ninety-six members there were but twelve present. However, surprise turned to dismay as each day a never-ending number of measures came up for consideration in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. Perhaps the missing members had escaped while there was yet time, warned by the statues about them of conscientious men of earlier days, who must have turned to stone as the clerk continued to read the hundreds of bills introduced daily to reconstruct the universe. Even the twelve members decreased, one by one, until in the words of Wordsworth, "we were seven."

Occasionally a senator would come in and ask a question that had been fully explained an hour before, or another would ask to have the discussion postponed, as he had been out of town and the matter had only just been brought to his attention. At this the gallery almost fell over the railing, but recovered its balance when the chair reminded him that others had inconvenienced themselves to consider the bill at this appointed time, and that all had had copies of it long before to study. A senator who began by announcing he was not very familiar with the subject, was not deterred from talking an hour against it, and his unconscious humor so moved the listeners above that only the law of gravity kept them in their seats, wondering when women would be allowed to discontinue their Trappist silence and break a lance for truth and justice on the floor of the United States Senate.

SOON even the seven members were no longer listening, for the shades of night were falling fast and the little child-labor pages were darting in and out with the evening papers. Then the next speaker thought each state should look after its own people, and, reminding the august body of the states-rights trouble in the Civil War, he reviewed again the troops in the Rebellion. But before he could lead them to victory, it was six o'clock and it did not seem disrespectful even to General Grant to adjourn to the following noon.

One old watchdog of the Treasury felt it his duty to

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call the attention of the country to the real condition of the seemingly exhaustless pile of money in Washington. He used all the words he had with him to warn the Republicans not to waste it as the Democrats had done. Then an inquiring mind asked if twenty-three thousand deaths yearly of mothers were not about normal for a country this size? And another, who felt it was a worthy measure, thought it would be improved if Article Two were substituted for Article Five, leaving out Six, Seven and Eight.

KNOWING the men for and against the Sheppard-Towner Bill from Mrs. Maud Wood Park's poll, as she was chairman of the Women's Joint Legislative Committee, the gallery would be wreathed in smiles when a senator arose to defend the bill. But it seemed the amendments were endless, day after day, until suddenly to us, although well-planned before by the leaders, Vice-President Marshall called for the bill itself, and as the faithful lobbyists rushed out to beg the senators to return to their places, the clerk, who had a kind of Niagara Falls of words from his mouth, reeled off miles of rushing sentences. Then, before there was time for your heart to jump into your throat, the vote was taken and the Sheppard-Towner Bill had passed the Senate.

On my return home I was invited to address a meeting at the Frederick Douglas Center, and though it is customary for the chairman to say at least one kind word of the speaker, the colored woman presiding announced: "Our speaker today is unknown to me, but in the few minutes I have spoken with her, I see we all belong to the great sisterhood of women." This was a relief after the unpleasantly honest beginning, but unfortunately she added: "I presume she is known to a few of you for her work on the Sheppard-Towner Bill, because *Miss* Colton knows all about maternity." This seemed, however, satisfactory to the audience, and I launched forth at once to tell how bills became laws in Congress—a process as puzzling to some voters as apples turning into dumplings to old King James.

Howard in New York World

"I've been in politics all my life, but I can't do anything with all these dam' women around."

The next adventure was in the City Council, where a Joint Committee from women's organizations sponsored a street-trades bill to keep children under fourteen from selling downtown. The bitter hostility of the press made it impossible to get over to the public the telling facts of what this had done to children's health, education and morals. The legislative campaign was not started until studies had been made by the Consumers' League among the Toledo children, and the results also gathered from studies of children elsewhere, and from dozens of authorities. But when members of the committee spoke before organizations, the papers played up on the front page the arguments of the small and vehement group that opposed the bill.

There was not need of the radio then to get the wildest exaggerations on the air. People were asked if they did not want their favorite paper delivered any more. They were told that if the measure passed Council, a nurse-girl would not be allowed to wheel a baby-carriage on the street, and though there were but three unmarried on the committee of seventy women, old maids were featured as meddling with other people's children, until it seemed that only matrimony could make a woman intelligent. Class hatred was inflamed; the prosperous were accused of trying to deprive the hungry of an honest way to make a living; and women were sentimentalists, taking away a boy's chance to learn thrift and industry.

WHEN the first hearing was called before a Council committee, the chamber was crowded. The audience was tense with bitter feeling, and the newspaper men came in with heavy artillery. I could almost feel myself in one of the ambulances. And then I looked at the expression on the faces of the women who were working for the boys and girls. Some had left their own children at home, some had defied their families, some had worked themselves sick, others had left their jobs and pay-envelopes, many were frightened by the strangeness of the Council chamber, but all were there to give children a better chance. There came into mind the little child in Wales, who watched daily in front of the house of the Ladies of Langollen, and who, questioned by one of the visitors leaving the museum, explained: "Sometimes they leave the door open and we can see *things* inside." That was why we were fighting like that to keep the children off the downtown streets in order that more doors into life itself might later be opened to them.

Men arose to show that newspaper selling had not hurt them, never dreaming that their commercial success was rarely one that a thoughtful mother would want her child to follow, and as they spoke they revealed unconsciously that their eyes had been sealed to the glories and wonders of any other world than business. The superintendent of schools gave no assistance to our side, and the Juvenile Court judge pictured the newsboy as a thrifty little merchant, though his words were refuted by the number he had sent to the reform-school. Some citizens were against the bill because they feared it might put the Newsboys' Association out of business and so dishonor the memory of the founder—as if to preserve asylums we must keep people insane! Finally, the newsboys were given petitions against the ordinance for their subscribers to sign, and naturally,

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never hearing the other side and moved by the boys' plea, they signed by thousands.

WHEN the opposition was noisiest, two organizations withdrew publicly their endorsement of the ordinance, but in spite of misrepresentation, ridicule and abuse, the women stuck. Though there were ten hearings—some exceedingly trying—more women were there at the last than at the first, and they did valiant work with their councilmen. The ordinance became a Diogenes lantern with which to look for an honest man, for the councilmen's fear of the press was apparent. One frankly announced that if the bill could be carried, he would vote for it, but if lost when the roll-call came to him, he would vote against it—a lesson in practical politics for the new voters. But to offset the politicians, there were a few refreshingly fearless men who said they would vote for it even if they were the only ones.

Throughout the long campaign, most of the women kept their ideals, and under the leadership of their able chairman, refused to use their opponents' tools, withstanding attack without retort or bitterness. They were learning what people meant when they said politics are dirty. Even the chairman's contribution to the Community Chest was criticised in the Council. But personalities were ignored by the committee, and the chairman insisted that the point under discussion was all that concerned them: that newspaper selling is a menace to the majority of children.

Copyright Life

"Let's see—what was I going to do when I got into politics?"

Finally a substitute measure was passed and now boys under twelve cannot legally sell in the downtown district and none under sixteen may sell late at night. It was a poor little victory, but these women learned at first hand the power of the press and how little chance there is to get unbiased information when the subject is controversial. At the end of that campaign it seemed more ladylike to be home reading history, the politics of earlier days, than to participate in history in the making. But by this time a few women had discovered that politics are not just elections but something that goes on three hundred and sixty-five days in the year.

THE next adventure took us to the Capitol in Columbus with a bill to establish a court of domestic relations. Though the bill for the new court aroused less antagonism than the street-trades in the Council, no paper championed it. Bouquets to the power of women for good were presented in an editorial *after* the law was passed, but there were no wayside flowers to pick during the legislative siege. The Bar Association drew up a rival measure. The League of City Mothers, that could have been of inestimable help, refused to endorse our efforts lest they offend their good friend, the Juvenile Court judge.

Some helpful friends cheered on the workers, but there were warnings of the power of the machine, and the folly of a little group of women trying to go against the politicians; the bill would be quietly killed; we must learn to play the game if we expected to get a bill through; if it went through one house, it would die in the other, or the governor would veto it. There were messages from those close to him, there were contradictory messages from those closer to him; legislators were quoted and misquoted after we interviewed them; men protested they had never said what the committee heard them say, and we soon learned to get some opinions in writing, though few would commit themselves beforehand. There was often dismay and utter bewilderment when honest women gave opposite testimony to interviews with men who had changed their opinions

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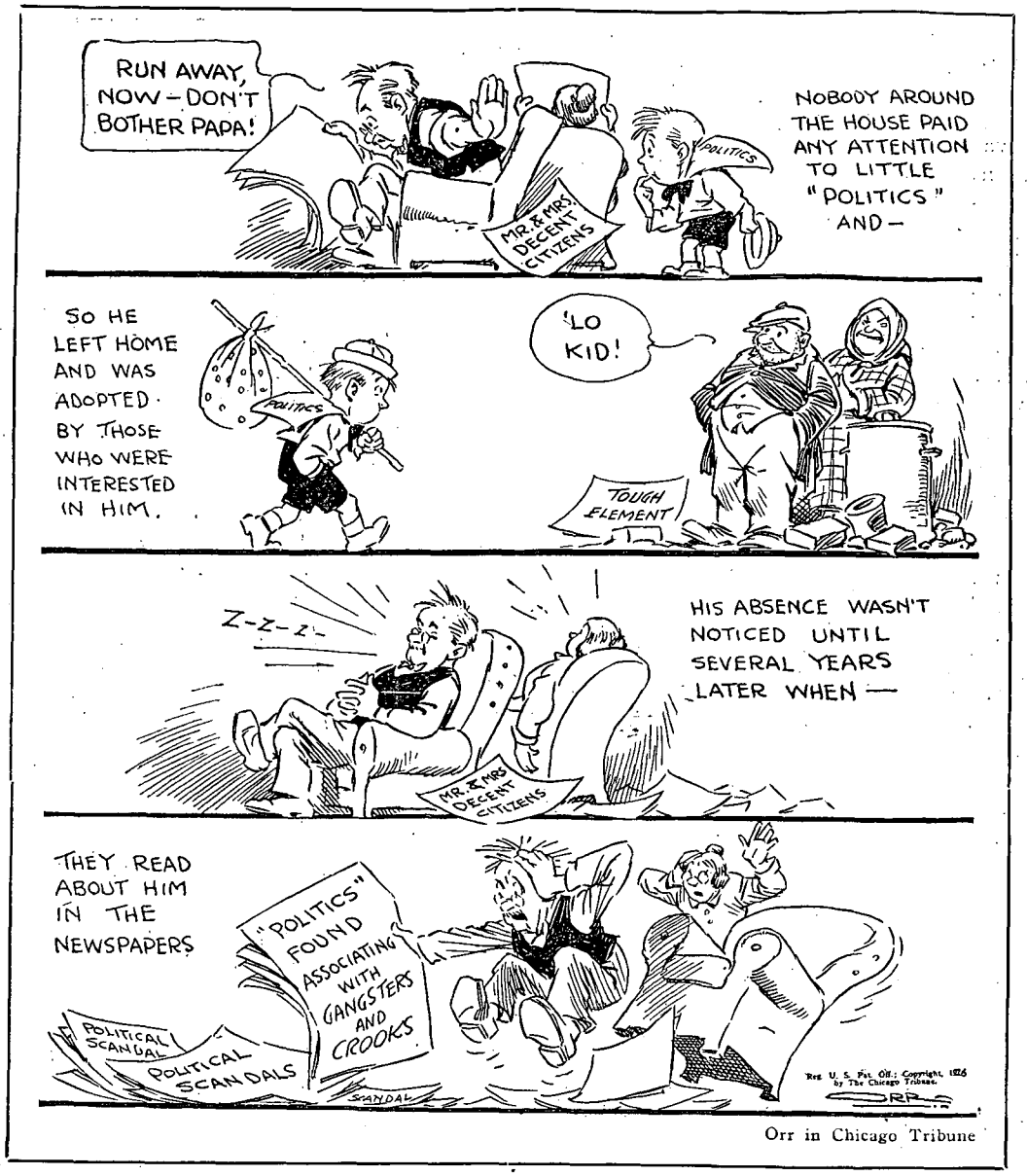
RUN AWAY, NOW—DON'T BOTHER PAPA!
MR. & MRS. DECENT CITIZENS
POLITICS
NOBODY AROUND THE HOUSE PAID ANY ATTENTION TO LITTLE "POLITICS" AND—
SO HE LEFT HOME AND WAS ADOPTED BY THOSE WHO WERE INTERESTED IN HIM.
POLITICS
'LO KID!
TOUGH ELEMENT
Z-Z-Z-
HIS ABSENCE WASN'T NOTICED UNTIL SEVERAL YEARS LATER WHEN —
MR. & MRS. DECENT CITIZENS
THEY READ ABOUT HIM IN THE NEWSPAPERS
"POLITICS" FOUND ASSOCIATING WITH GANGSTERS AND CROOKS
POLITICAL SCANDAL
POLITICAL SCANDALS
SCANDAL
Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.; Copyright, 1926 by The Chicago Tribune.
ORR

Orr in Chicago Tribune

"If the folks at home had only taken more interest in him"

over night. But though no living soul ever said there was the slightest chance of the bill becoming a law in that session, so firm was the belief in the need to help broken families and children in trouble, that the whole committee pressed gallantly onward.

The representative who had promised to introduce the bill, presented instead that of the lawyers. The next representative who was asked, declined, but when the first found that a third one was to sponsor it, he offered again to introduce it and do all in his power for it, and he kept his word. Citizens were urged to speak or write to the legislators about that bill, and the women made three trips to Columbus. An interview was arranged with the governor, who heard our plea, condensed to three minutes, and then replied in one—that he was with us, and in five minutes we were emerging in hurried triumph from his private office, while the next waiting group was shown in. Eighteen senators were approached in one morning, the women at home making these interviews easier by preparing the way with explanatory letters.

Next came the meeting of the House Judiciary Committee, where the bill was approved, but the dragon to be overcome was the Rules Committee, that powerful autocracy which can kill anything by delaying its date for consideration on the floor. Monday became Tuesday, and Tuesday next week, and "the morning and evening were the sixth day," while the women waited. Indeed, one of the most noticeable points of the whole process was how little the bill meant to any one else. Hundreds were interested in other bills and as ours was not controversial, no one could even get mad about it. If it lost or won, it would be the same to them.

However, it went through the House unanimously. But further progress was threatened by a vote for immediate adjournment of the whole assembly, and that was avoided only by the pernicious decision to adjourn in ten days. Efforts had to be doubled to get the bill through the Senate before the men went home, but here the Judiciary Committee befriended us, and then we were advised to see the party whip. It was all so strange—we did not know if his headquarters were in a livery stable or the State House—and he and the Great Power, known as the floor leader, turned out to be busy men with whom we had to have high-speed consultations. There were anxious delays, telegrams, long-distance phones, and the spoken and the written word alternated, until the joyous announcement came that the bill had passed.

But success was not to come too suddenly. The question grew daily more baffling—why did not the governor sign the bill? And every day the papers were searched with sickening apprehension.

THEN came the most amazing part of the experience. There was a whisper from Columbus, with thunderous reverberations, that by carelessness, or stupidity, or a clerical error in the last official draft, the copy of which I had scanned hastily from a sickbed in Columbus, one fiendish little word might be interpreted to give the governor the right to make an appointment, instead of waiting, as the women had planned, to have the judge elected in 1924. Moreover, there was then in Columbus a lawyer who had opposed the bill, seeking the office. He was followed by others whose only qualification seemed to be a desire for the salary. Eventually the women wrote the governor, and he replied that as it was (*Continued on page* 561)

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Discharging an Iron Furnace

Paintings of Modern Industry

By BENITO QUINQUELA MARTIN

MASSIVE paintings full of fierce light and huge structures and crowds of little human beings, full of turbulence and stir, covered the walls of the Anderson Galleries in New York recently and made it seem strange that the quiet voices of the spectators should carry in that atmosphere of modern industry. The Argentinian, Benito Quinquela Martin, slight, dark and frowning, sat apart from the onlookers, isolated by his lack of English and their lack of comprehension. It had been urged that he begin his show in a country where he was unknown with a well-patronned tea. A tea in the midst of this clamor of shipyards and blaze of foundries! He rejected the idea with scorn. For Mr. Martin had lived these paintings in more than the usual sense before they were put on canvas. These were the surroundings and this the work of his youth in the port of Buenos Aires.

His first drawings, made on walls with a piece of charcoal, had been of his fellow-workers. He bought colors and in his leisure hours began to paint according to his own instinct. At twenty he taught himself to read and write. By chance he came to read what Rodin had written on art. Later he was helped and encouraged by the director of fine arts. Only ten years ago he had his first exhibit.

Since that time he has been able to go to Europe to see good paintings for the first time. He has exhibited his work in Madrid and Paris. Several museums have purchased his paintings. But he still paints the life he knew in the Argentine: filtering, unloading iron, timber, coal, modelling and rolling steel, stoking a furnace, the port at sunset or twilight or on gray days.

One might expect a point of view from this former workingman, but there is no emphasis on man as either master or slave of the machine. Just as the small human being under the arch of giant oaks in a forest is neither slave nor master, so does this artist see the toiler in his modern setting. Both are part of a grand spectacle.

F. L. K.

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Courtesy Anderson Galleries, New York

Exit of Boca Bridge

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Courtesy Anderson Galleries, New York

Filling Molds

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The Corporation and Its Community

By PAUL A. SCHOELLKOPF

IN considering the relationship between a corporation and the community or communities in which it does business, there are at least two points of view to be considered. In the first place, there is the fundamental question as to what is the responsibility of a corporation toward the community as a whole; that is, what is its share in the common duty and desire to make that locality a good place in which to live and do business. In the second place, there is the question as to how the corporation may best serve its own interests by participating in those activities in the community which make for social betterment.

In all this discussion it seems to me that one can not differentiate between a so-called "local" as distinguished from a "national" corporation with its head office in another city but doing business in the particular locality. As a matter of fact, it is the writer's belief that national corporations are more and more considering themselves in the same light in each locality as though the home office were there—at least with respect to the questions we are discussing. This is particularly true where the corporation operates a branch plant in a city—the only differences in opinion appear to be in those cases where a large national corporation has a branch wholesale or retail distributing point. In the latter cases there does not seem to be as unanimous opinion as where manufacturing plants are maintained, but even in these more or less controversial cases a frank discussion of the problem usually will "iron out" the differences of opinion.

The question of the responsibility of a corporation to the community as a whole is perhaps best summed up by a conversation which took place recently between a corporation executive and a local community-chest secretary.

"WHY," asked the executive, "should our company, as a corporation, support the community chest? Exactly what do we get out of it and what is the tangible worth of the work of these agencies to our company?"

"What is it worth to your company," said the chest secretary, "to have paved streets instead of a mud road leading to your plant? Why should your company support, as it does through the tax-rolls, the police and fire departments? What is it worth to you as a corporation to have a good school system? Isn't it true that this city has developed to a point where every one agrees that these things are a necessity and that they should be paid from the general tax funds of the city? In other words, society, as it exists in this locality, has developed to the point where it is generally acknowledged that everybody profits, directly or indirectly, by these municipal activities. Since all profit, every one should carry his share of the common load.

"The work of social agencies is in the same position. The majority of the people have agreed that the work is necessary to maintain proper standards in our city. All profit by their operation and all should participate. The fact that the participation is voluntary should make no real difference in the readiness of every one to carry his fair share."

There seems to rest the kernel of the whole question; the answer to the question whether there is a corporation responsibility for community welfare.

There is not a corporation in the country that does not pay taxes and these taxes are used for the good of all and to maintain the civilization which we have developed. The very conditions which make it desirable for a corporation to do business in a locality—namely, the fact that it is a large center of population, that it is perhaps a railroad terminus, and the further fact that favorable markets are within easy reach—all these factors bring with them the problems of dependency, delinquency, health and the proper use of leisure. Certainly it would seem that a corporation which reaps the benefits from a given set of circumstances should also help carry its share of the burden caused by the problems which these same favorable circumstances create.

IT makes little difference in the long run whether this burden is carried by so-called public or private agencies. The fact that a charity organization society may be financed as a private organization or through a community chest should not make it less worthy of support than a department of charities supported entirely by taxation. Certainly few corporations would say that a public agency is *per se* better able to do a given piece of work than one privately operated. It would appear that a corporation should take into account whether in its locality a larger proportion of the work is done by private agencies than by public, or *vice versa*. But on whichever side the preponderance, there should be equal desire to carry a fair share of the load.

Corporations are already financially participating in community welfare work. Part of the taxes which they pay goes to the work of the departments of health, charity and recreation which are operated by our American communities in varying degree. The remainder of the load must be handled by privately operated agencies, financed separately or through community chests. The responsibility for seeing the private agencies through is voluntary, to be sure, but it should be as gladly assumed as the tax bill is readily met. Whether or not it is assumed, the responsibility is there, for the very conditions which make it possible for corporations to operate at a profit bring problems which must be met if our country is to achieve the full measure of its capabilities.

The question as to whether a corporation profits from participation in community activities has been answered in the affirmative so often that there seems little need to re-state it. An official of one of the largest corporations in the country spoke in my hearing recently of an experience which his company had had with one of its many plants. Working conditions were good in that plant, the physical properties were in excellent condition and of modern construction, the pay was high. (*Continued on page* 576)

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THE SICK MAN

From a dry point by Edmund Blampied. Modern Masters of Etching Series, No. 10, published by The Studio, London

How Pay Sickness Bills?

By MICHAEL M. DAVIS

DANIEL DEFOE, in his diverting history of the Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders, tells us that in the London of about the year 1650, Moll could have her baby brought into the world for fifteen guineas with the aid of a midwife (paid three guineas), three months board and care in the midwife's home, nursing, a minister to christen the child and a supper at the christening for five friends. Or she might step up to a middle level and pay twenty-six guineas, of which madam midwife received five. At the top level of these carefully itemized estimates among which Moll could choose, the midwife's fee doubled, and the total cost rose to fifty guineas, including more luxurious food, quarters and attendance, and a supper to which, in apparent anticipation of American customs, it was specified that the gentlemen were to bring in the wine!

Nearly three hundred years later in the Atlantic Monthly (May, 1925), Ida L. Albright writes that her parents' first child cost them, for the doctor and Aunt Lindsay the practical nurse, fifteen dollars and a basket of fruit. "This was twenty-five years before I had children of my own and these were country prices. My husband and I lived in a city and the birth of our first child cost us, including the baby specialist's visit, one hundred and thirty-five dollars." The cost of the three succeeding babies, she narrates, mounted by one hundred dollars or so each time, with increasing use of specialists and higher hospital rates. For the fourth child, "of course, Dr. X. specialized in obstetrics, his fee was two hundred dollars, and he had me go to a private hospital, explaining that all his patients went there and that I would not find it more expensive than any other. In this he was mistaken. My room for two weeks cost eighty dollars, and the other hospital charges were proportionately more expensive than any we had paid before."

Moll Flanders' choices were among different grades of accommodations with essentially the same professional care. The contrasts in Mrs. Albright's story are due largely to different kinds of professional service. Conscientiously she

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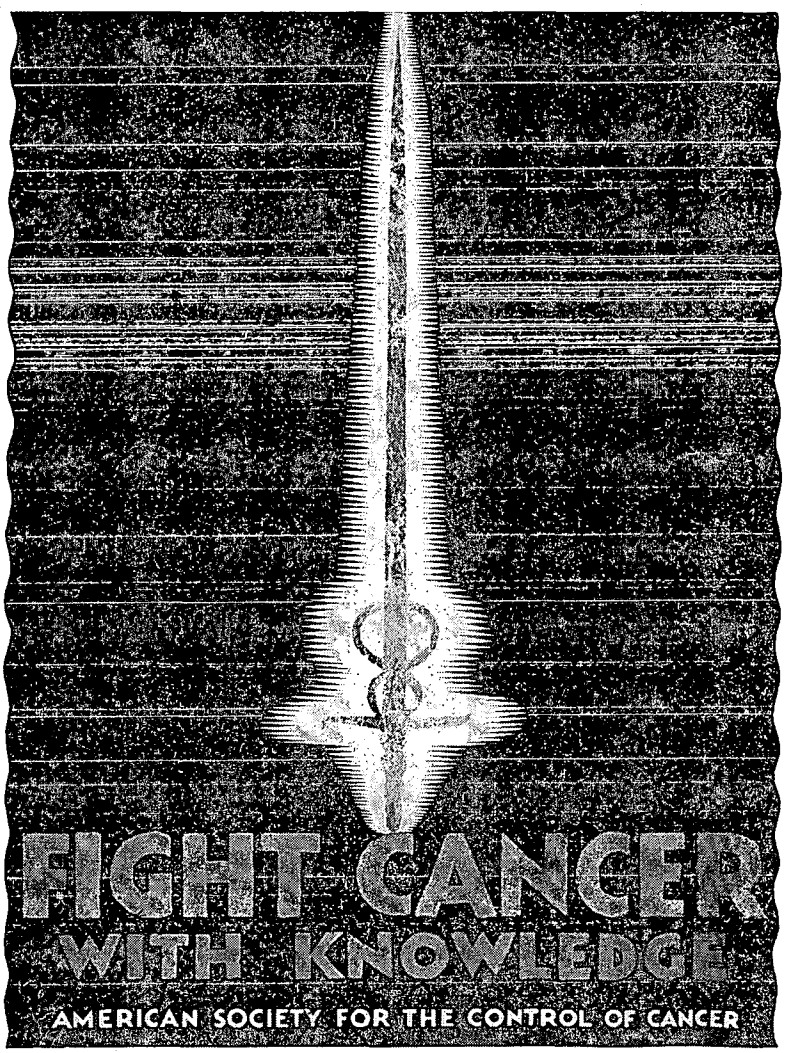
tried to secure the best for her children. No christening suppers appear in her birthday budgets.

In New York City today, one can find mothers who have had a baby in their homes with a reputable doctor in attendance and some care from a visiting nurse and a total bill of forty dollars. One can also find mothers whose babies ran up a bill of one thousand five hundred dollars apiece. In a small town I recently visited the corresponding range was from thirty dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars. In town and in city, in having babies and in securing care in illness, it is commonplace that the available services are enormously more varied and the range of expense far greater than in the days when Mrs. Albright's parents called in Aunt Lindsay.

There are choices and choices. When the wife of Brown, a bank clerk earning thirty-eight dollars a week, comes down with pneumonia, what choice shall Brown and his two children make, between care at home when a private nurse costs more per week than Brown earns, or care in a hospital at equally impossible rates for medical attendance and private room, or care in the ward which they feel would stigmatize them socially? Between dependency, debt and disaster is only Hobson's choice. Thousands of families face these bitter alternatives at times. Other and less exigent choices arise also, as between a child specialist and a general practitioner for the somewhat under-weight six-year-old, or between a tonsillectomy at fifty dollars and a presumably more experienced operator at one hundred dollars. Do we make too much of these "choices"? Are they more than between a worthy, used Ford at two hundred dollars and an impeccable Cadillac at four thousand? Let us grant that some selections of resources for care in sickness are made on Moll Flanders' basis and not Mrs. Albright's. Is it right that a family save a surgeon's fee by sending a sick member into a hospital ward in order to use the money for the next instalment on the car?



First prize of $500 was awarded this poster design by G. E. Durant of New York City in the competition conducted by the Art Alliance of America for the American Society for the Control of Cancer. In the original, the sword dominating the design is of radiant silver on a black background with the fighting slogan in red

THIS at least is true, that while people's purchases of ordinary articles of consumption are quite their own business, their choices among resources for the care of sickness often concern others than themselves. Sickness, as the lawyers say, is "affected with a public interest." Whether Jones pays fifty dollars for an ancient rattletrap or ten thousand for a Rolls Royce is his own affair, but whether he gets good or poor or no care in sickness is in a measure the affair of his neighbors also —partly for humanitarian reasons, partly because the sickness may be communicable, partly because insufficient care may cause Jones and his family to become dependent, and partly because the community has already made an investment in educating Jones which it may be cheaper to preserve intact by competent medical service than to allow to deteriorate by withholding it.

These factors are implied in established public and private policies, in philanthropy, in the practice of a growing number of industries, and in the age-long tradition of the medical profession. Let us be chary of thinking of money-spending for the care of sickness in the same terms as expenditures for autos, cigars or clothes.

If the statistics thus far gathered about the cost of sickness and concerning family expenditures for its care, mean anything at all, they demonstrate two truths which lie at the root of the financial problem of sickness and at the basis of its solution.

First: *Our spending habits for sickness are less than our spending ability.*

An itemized estimate of all that individuals, organizations and governments in the United States spend for the care of sickness and the promotion of health leads to the conclusion that the sum total is about three billion dollars a year. This is some three and one-third per cent of our gross national income of ninety billions! Only about one hundred millions, or one-thirtieth of the three billions, goes for preventive work. For cigarettes alone we spend over a billion annually. Cutting down one-tenth of our cigarette bill would provide for more than doubling the expenditure for preventive medicine.

Does there lurk here the suggestion that a Kansas committee be formed to promote the puritanical curtailing of favorite comforts, in favor of spending more on doctors, health departments, hospitals, clinics and nurses? No. Neither Mrs. Albright's nor Moll Flanders' choices may wholly suit us. Our spending habits and standards in relation to sickness have been carried over from a time when

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there was generally less margin of income over necessities than there is today, and when the power of medicine to cure or to prevent disease was far less than it is now. High-pressure advertising and a dozen other influences have reshaped our appraisal of life-values and have guided the spending of our margin. Certainly we have, as a group, the money to increase our spending for sickness and health from 3 1/3 per cent to 4 1/3 per cent of our national income. Surely, for many millions of Americans there is a one-per-cent disposable margin the spending of which choice and not necessity may direct.

"Public health is purchasable," provided we want to purchase it. Good care in sickness is purchasable if we want it enough. Spending habits have changed. Spending habits are changeable. Vigorous efforts of official and voluntary health organizations have already accomplished significant changes—have got out of the public a quarter of a billion dollars for tuberculosis sanitoria, for instance. Whether clean teeth promote health may be debatable, but the publicity of some health agencies aided by the suavely cooperative advertising of the makers of tooth-brushes and tooth pastes have led millions to believe that it does, and to establish quite new habits of dental expenditure. These are only nibbles at the next 1 per cent of our national income—but hopefully indicating nibbles.

To get a larger slice, it is necessary that people should know more of the cost of really good care in sickness—what makes it good and what makes it costly. Nothing will so quickly shift spending habits for medical service upward, as will service that gets results for the recipient. Cost is important, but results are vital. Good care in sickness doesn't need traveling men and four-color advertising to sell itself. It is high-powered salesmanship without the blah. A nation with a margin such as ours is interested in results more than in economies.

The winner of the third prize, J. M. Mitchell of New York, showed a symbolical figure of Science, in a blue robe, holding aloft the lamp of Knowledge. Despite the obvious difficulties of the subject, the Cancer Society's contest brought out 400 contestants. It was considered a marked success and will be repeated next year

AND increased spending for the care of sickness will also have a very fundamental effect—a by-product perhaps more important than the main article—because it will mean that more money will be put into prevention. Those who will spend early and adequately for sickness will be the first to spend more fully for health. Cure and prevention interlock. The official and voluntary health agencies which struggle to persuade taxpayers and town councils to increase public budgets for prevention can help solve the financial problems of sickness and of public health together, if they will shape their propaganda according to this demonstrable psychology of the average man. Jones and his wife may be interested in how preventable diseases may be prevented, but they are on their toes to learn how unpreventable diseases may be well cared for and what good care costs. Give people some of the knowledge they want about illness and their minds will be open to take some of the information that you want to give them about health.

What does it cost to raise a baby and what does it cost to kill it young? Doctor Dublin's recent estimates (Health and Wealth, pages 3-5) touch the strings of every heart and every purse, and will be ammunition for every child-health campaign. How much does good care for a certain case of tuberculosis cost in your town? Why does it cost that much? And if you spend much less than this, is what you get likely to be worth the spending? (Unless you are getting what you don't pay for, as charity.) The publicity of health agencies needs to focus on what families pay out for sickness as well as upon community expenditures for prevention. Such publicity will yield dividends to the average citizen, the private doctor and the public health department all alike.

Second: *It is the unevenness of the burden of sickness, not its total amount, which creates most of the present financial problems.*

Take a thousand city families with five thousand members and with incomes a little above the self-support line—$2,000 to $2,400 a year. The available statistics tell us that they will altogether expend $80,000 to $100,000 a year for the care of sickness and that about 160 of the thousand families will have so much sickness that they must spend about half the whole (*Continued on page* 565)

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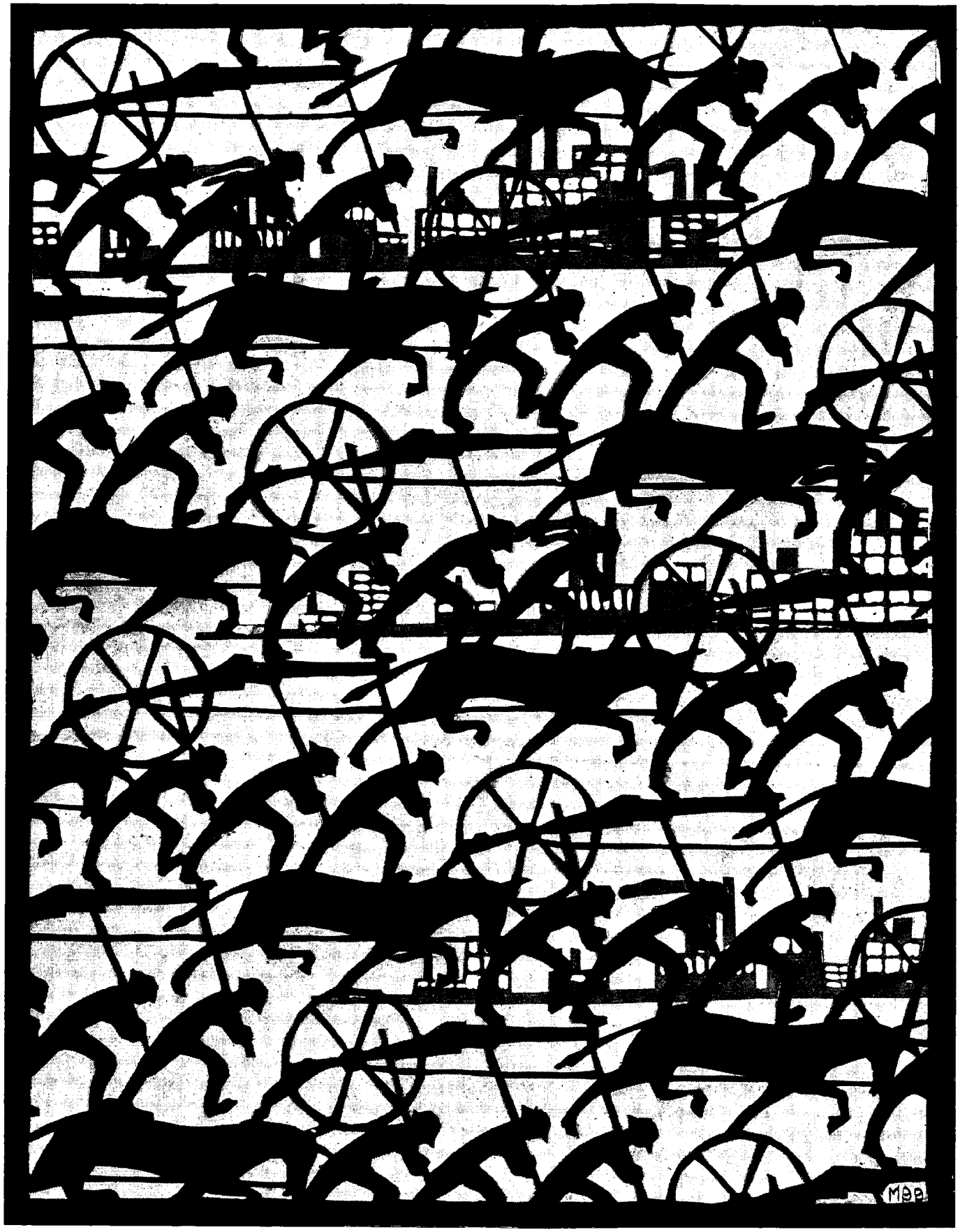

THE WAR PATTERN IMPOSED ON INDUSTRY

"When the United States went into the War, things got away from us, the spirit was to get it out no matter what the cost."

Scissors picture by Martha Bensley Bruère

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A Quaker Employer Builds a Company Union

By ROBERT W. BRUÈRE

LIKE most trade unionists, I used to hold that all employers who were not operating under a collective agreement with organized labor were by that token fundamentally hostile to the democratic aspirations of the labor movement. I saw in the trade unions the advance guard of the wage-workers whose destiny it was to carry the great democratic principle forward to its predestined ascendency over industry. There could be no effective government of, by and for the people until those who operated the machinery of production and distribution shared in its ownership and control.

This conviction held such sway over me that it was not until the American Federation of Labor's Atlantic City Convention in October, 1925, that I felt free to study company unions without a certain sense of disloyalty. That convention instructed the executive council to prosecute a thorough study of company unions, even to secure the cooperation of outside research agencies, in order that data might be obtained which "will help us to find the best way of meeting the dangers they entail." Welfare work and company unions were visualized in terms of class warfare and the company union in particular was singled out as the most insidious of all the devices invented by hostile employers to frustrate the aspirations of the labor movement.

The principal sponsor of employe representation plans, or company unions, was the War Labor Board, upon which the American Federation of Labor had full representation. One of the governing principles of the board was "that in establishments where union and non-union men and women work together and the employer meets only with the employes or representatives engaged in such establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance." In obedience to this principle the plan of representation in the West Lynn establishment of the General Electric Company, for example, was inaugurated.

At that time trade-union leaders felt certain that once wage-workers organized they would inevitably affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. In this they were often disappointed; and because of the affiliation of employers operating company unions with American Plan organizations, they came to regard all company unions as hypocritical shams.

THERE can be no doubt that industrial relations in American industry are still widely dominated by the hunting-age patterns. Probably a majority of American employers still cherish the right to hire and fire at will, to pay as low wages and work as long hours as competition for labor will allow.

Reviewing the whole American Plan campaign, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America declared that the terms "open shop" and "American Plan" were used to "designate establishments that are definitely anti-union"; and the National Catholic Welfare Council gave it as its mature judgment "that the evidence shows that in its organized form it [the American Plan open-shop drive] is not merely against the 'closed shop,' but against unionism itself and particularly against collective bargaining." It is not strange, therefore, that the trade unionists should have adopted as final the judgment that employers who were not with them were against them.

With this background I began a series of studies of company unions in the West Lynn plant of the General Electric Company [see Survey Graphic, April, 1926], in the factory of the Sperry Gyroscope Company [Survey Graphic, January, February, 1927] and now in the factory of the Quaker employer, Morris E. Leeds. The traditional labor policy at West Lynn, as I pointed out in my article in the January, 1928, issue of Survey Graphic, had been vehemently anti-union and the smoke of past labor wars there, as to a less extent in the Sperry Gyroscope factory, clouded the atmosphere. I turned to the Cooperative Association, or company union, in the Leeds and Northrup factory because I knew that it was not inspired by hostility to the labor movement, the trade unions, or anything else. Now in view of the fact that Morris E. Leeds is president of the Metal Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia and that that association was organized to combat the trade unions, this seems a bold statement. Nevertheless, after more than two years of intensive study, involving consultations with trade-union leaders, foremen, executives, and the rank and file in the factory, I know that that statement is true.

THE Leeds and Northrup company union represents the application to industrial relations of the same scientific attitude which has produced the electric measuring instruments which the corporation manufactures. It was designed to meet practical situations in the factory as they arose. It has developed through the cooperative handling of problems of common interest by the management and the employes. Today, as when it was inaugurated, it is regarded by all the members of the organization as an experiment, subject to modification as new exigencies may demand.

The object of the Leeds and Northrup Cooperative Association, as stated in its constitution, is "to preserve and strengthen the traditional bonds of cooperation between the Leeds and Northrup Company and its employes to the end that through understanding and just dealing with one another they may promote their mutual welfare and may jointly render effective service to the instrument-makers' art, to the users of scientific instruments and to the public."

I have heard it said there is no more misleading platitude than the statement that a prime object of company unions is to find a substitute in the large factory for the personal

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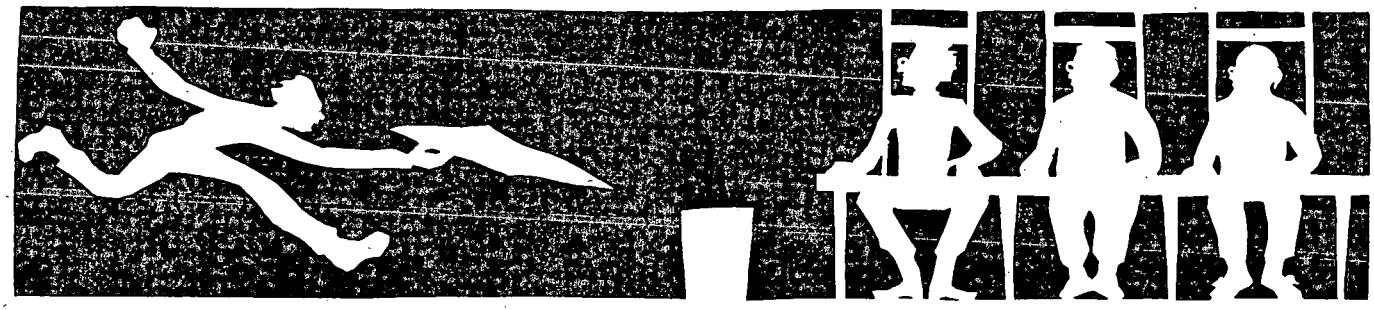

"He takes his grievance to the committee"

relationships that frequently prevailed when the shop was small. Nevertheless, this statement holds with respect to the initiation of the Leeds and Northrup Cooperative Association.

When I first knew the plant ten years ago, the man who was most articulate in voicing the mind of the shop had risen from the bench to a foremanship. He has since become factory manager.

"About the time the war started," he said one day, referring to the summer of 1914, "the place got so large that we commenced to lose contact. Up to that time our relations were very good. Every one in the shop knew every one else by name. We did not make money, but we had fun and we had faith in Mr. Leeds. But when the United States went into the war things got away from us. The spirit was to get it out, no matter what the cost. We had the wrong man in our new planning department and that was the beginning of a lot of frictions."

"What kind of frictions?" I asked.

"Personal."

"Between the foremen and the planning department?"

"Yes."

"Did that carry over to relations between the foremen and the men in the shop?"

"Not so much; but the whole thing was out of joint. The growth of the Cooperative Association was due to a real situation in the plant."

"The situation was that the old intimate personal contacts had been destroyed?"

"Yes. While we were going through this period, we had a meeting to uncover the trouble. The meeting was between the Executive Committee of the company and the foremen and department heads. We batted all the facts across the table."

"Was it about that time that the Cooperative Association took form?"

"Mr. Leeds got a group of us together and talked about the formation of a works' council; and then one evening he got together all the old employes and talked to them. A delegation was sent to Filene's store in Boston to study the council plan there. When they came back they recommended that we organize a council. That was how the Leeds and Northrup Cooperative Association was started. . . . It was about this same time, too, that we started our engineering department in its present form to improve our production methods. Both of these things were necessities."

IN May, 1918, the recommendation of the delegation that visited Filene's was put before the factory. A meeting of all employes who had been with the company four years or more was called and after discussion, the employes moved "that we form a cooperative committee, as suggested by Mr. Leeds." A Board of Councilors elected from the plant as a whole, appointed committees on wages, hours, over-time pay and the whole range of questions involved in drafting a collective agreement. Stirred by the prevailing unrest, these committees proceeded so militantly that Morris Leeds on June 25 laid before the councilors his understanding of the limits of their authority:

For the present, the councilors are to have full authority only on employes' activities pure and simple. In so far as they consider subjects that have to do directly with the business of the Company, Council is to act in an advisory capacity only, although it may have authority delegated to it by the management in any specific case. In such case the authority will be limited by the definite arrangement. Where the authority of Council is complete, it will appoint its own subcommittees and take any other action it may deem wise, but in cases where its capacity is advisory, the management reserves the right to appoint the committees. In placing these limits of authority we wish to record the hope that experience will show that they may safely be extended. The ambition of workers to have some share in the management of enterprises which are perhaps of even more vital importance to them than to the capitalists who now in large part control them, seems to us right and reasonable, but we must remember that we are venturing into a field where there is very little experience to guide us and we believe that the surest and even the fastest progress will be made by making certain that our methods are right and our personnel trained by experience for further advance.

The Quaker employer thus invited his employes to cooperate in a joint experiment rather than to mobilize for war.

THE councilors were not satisfied to accept this policy of deliberate experimentation. The factory had been running into considerable over-time. The council insisted upon appointing its own committee to deal with the question of hours, minimum wage and over-time pay. Mr. Leeds, on behalf of the executive committee, questioned the authority of the council to appoint these committees.

It was our thought [he said in a formal letter] that this was one of the committees that should be selected by the Executive Board. We consider the committee which you have selected, however, an entirely suitable one and are willing to let it stand.

Whereupon the council immediately demanded to know "whether councilors have the right to reject appointments on committees made by the Board of Directors"; to which Morris Leeds replied:

I think the question is a perfectly proper one and should be answered some time; but while we are feeling our way, I think it might best be discussed by the committee appointed to draft a constitution.

While this discussion with respect to the authority of the council went hotly forward, the problem of hours and over-time pay remained unsettled. A petition was mysteriously circulated through the plant demanding that the eight-hour day be established at once and that time-and-a-half be paid for all time beyond eight hours. This was not so much a demand for a reduction in hours as for an increase in pay. It was war time. No one thought of working as little as eight hours. The whole point of the demand at the time it was made was to increase the proportion of over-time in the fifty-four to sixty hours per week that the plant was working and expected to continue to work as long as the war

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lasted. Certain members of council, who had been leading the debate over authority, informally advised Mr. Leeds that unless some such action were promptly taken a considerable number of employes would walk out. But he resisted the appeal of the war pattern; he refused to be crowded.

> We feel very strongly [he said in a letter to these members] that a forced decision would be contrary to the entire spirit of the Cooperative Association and would set a very bad precedent for future usefulness. Although production at the present time is of vital importance to the country, we believe that the maximum production depends on real cooperation between management and employes, and we therefore think it wise to make some temporary sacrifice of production, should that be necessary, rather than risk the future of cooperation. Will you kindly convey this information as promptly and as definitely as possible to all who are interested.

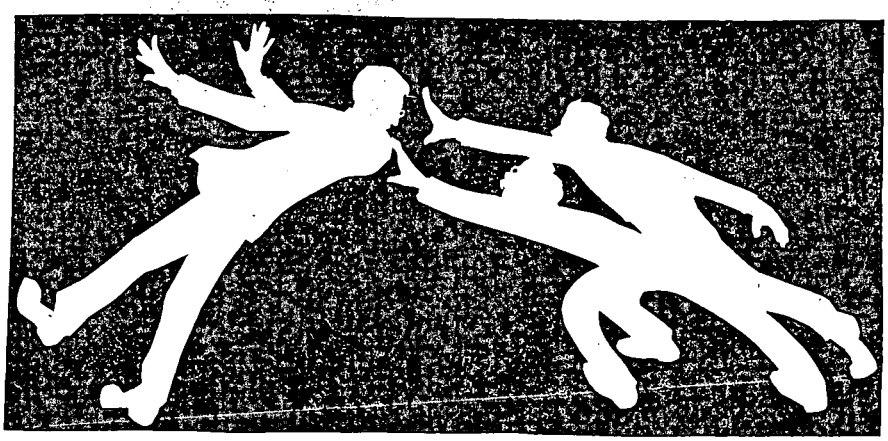
It was in this atmosphere that the Leeds and Northrup Cooperative Association began its career—a certain belligerency on the part of the employes, a determined adherence to the experimental attitude upon the part of Morris Leeds and the Executive Committee of the company. Had it not taken more than ten years to develop the recorder, the instrument of Morris Leeds' invention?

THE next reference to hours and wages in the minute books of council bears the date November 18, 1918. The Army Ordnance Department had ordered discontinuance of all over-time work on its contracts and soon thereafter began cancellation of contracts. It became necessary to reduce the working force, but in order to keep as many people at work as possible it was agreed to cut hours to forty-four a week—an eight-hour day, five days a week, with four hours on Saturday.

The councilors shifted their immediate focus of interest to the problem of selecting the workers who might most fairly be let out and to cooperation with the management in determining how the workers whose hours had been so sharply reduced might be compensated for this hardship.

During the next four years, council and management proceeded to deal vigorously but with experimental deliberation with a range of questions considerably beyond those which are ordinarily subjects of collective negotiation between trade unions and employers.

Through joint committees a system of hourly rates was worked out, based upon a survey of all rates paid in all metal manufacturing establishments in Philadelphia. At least once in three months the hourly rates of every worker are reviewed by a representative committee, and where performance has shown that the worker has reduced costs as compared with an accepted estimate based upon previous experience, his rate is increased. If a worker is not satisfied with his earnings, he may appeal directly to the committee which set his rate; and if upon review the decision of this committee still fails to satisfy him, he may in turn appeal to the General Wages Committee of council. Because of the high general wage levels adopted as matter of policy and the very great care exercised in the tri-monthly review, such appeals are infrequent.



"He refused to be crowded"

SOON after the problem of wages had advanced to a reasonably satisfactory solution, the council turned to the question of hours. Following the general trend initiated by the organized labor movement, the workers in the plant had argued for the eight-hour day, largely on health grounds. On May 5, 1919, however, council took cognizance of a petition signed by some hundred workers who wanted so to arrange the forty-four-hour week schedule as to make Saturday a full holiday. This was a break with the eight-hour health standard, as both the council and the management pointed out. But in due course it was agreed that in the manufacturing departments the week should be divided into five days of eight hours and forty-eight minutes with no work on Saturday and that all employes paid on the hourly basis should receive time-and-a-half not only for work over eight hours and forty-eight minutes a day, but also for all time over forty-four hours a week. Double-time is paid for time after 10 p. m., for Sundays, and for work done on any one of the eight regular plant holidays.

By way of rounding out this program of hours and wages a cooperative committee worked out a scheme of vacations with pay, which provides that all employes working on the hourly basis are entitled to a two weeks' vacation without pay during the summer period, but that all such employes shall receive for every year of continuous service up to five years, pay for two days of their vacation on the basis of an eight-hour day. For the sixth year they are entitled to one day's vacation and one plant holiday with pay, and for each additional year above six and up to nine and one-half years total continuous service, full pay for two of the regular plant holidays—a maximum of eleven ordinary days and eight holidays with pay.

HAVING disposed of these questions of wages, hours and holidays on a basis well in advance of common practice in similar establishments, joint committees largely under the initiative of Morris Leeds himself, proceeded to the problem of economic security for the worker. In the present state of industrial organization, it is not possible for even the largest single establishment, as the recent history of the Ford company illustrates, to guarantee continuous employment to all its force. It is possible, however, for even relatively small plants to make reasonable provision against the loss suffered by those laid off without fault of their own. Accordingly, the Board of Directors asked council to concur in the following resolution:

> That the company establish a fund .... to be used for continuing the pay of such of its employes as may from time to time be laid off for lack of work, at such

(*Cont. on page* 567)

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Sammy, by Sargent Johnson

American Negroes as Artists

In an Exhibit Which Is the Outgrowth of the William E. Harmon Awards in Fine Arts

FOR two weeks there was held in New York City, at International House, a varied exhibit of the work of Negro artists from all parts of the country. It was sponsored by the Harmon Foundation in co-operation with the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches, and was an outgrowth of the general interest aroused by the Harmon Awards of last year.

The first Harmon award in fine arts went to a portrait by Laura Wheeler Waring (opposite page), a Pennsylvania woman who is teaching art in the Cheyney Normal School (for Negroes) in Philadelphia, and who showed her promise by winning the award for European study when she was a student at the Pennsylvania Academy. The second award went to J. W. Hardrick, an Indianapolis artist, for a painting of two Negro boys fishing in the lazy light of a summer day. Among other of his canvases shown was the jovial self-portrait (right). An anonymous patron added a prize, designating a special committee of painters and sculptors as judges, who unanimously awarded it to Sargent Johnson for the black porcelain head, Sammy (above). Mr. Johnson, a picture framer of California, received the gold medal in the San Francisco Art Exhibition two years ago.

Several thousand people, art lovers, artists and plain folk, white and Negro, attended the show in New York with such manifestation of interest that the exhibit will hereafter be an annual event. It is the hope of the joint sponsoring organizations that these exhibits will create a wider interest in the contribution of the Negro artist to our culture, stimulate his best efforts, and encourage the public to purchase his work.

Self Portrait by J. W. Hardrick

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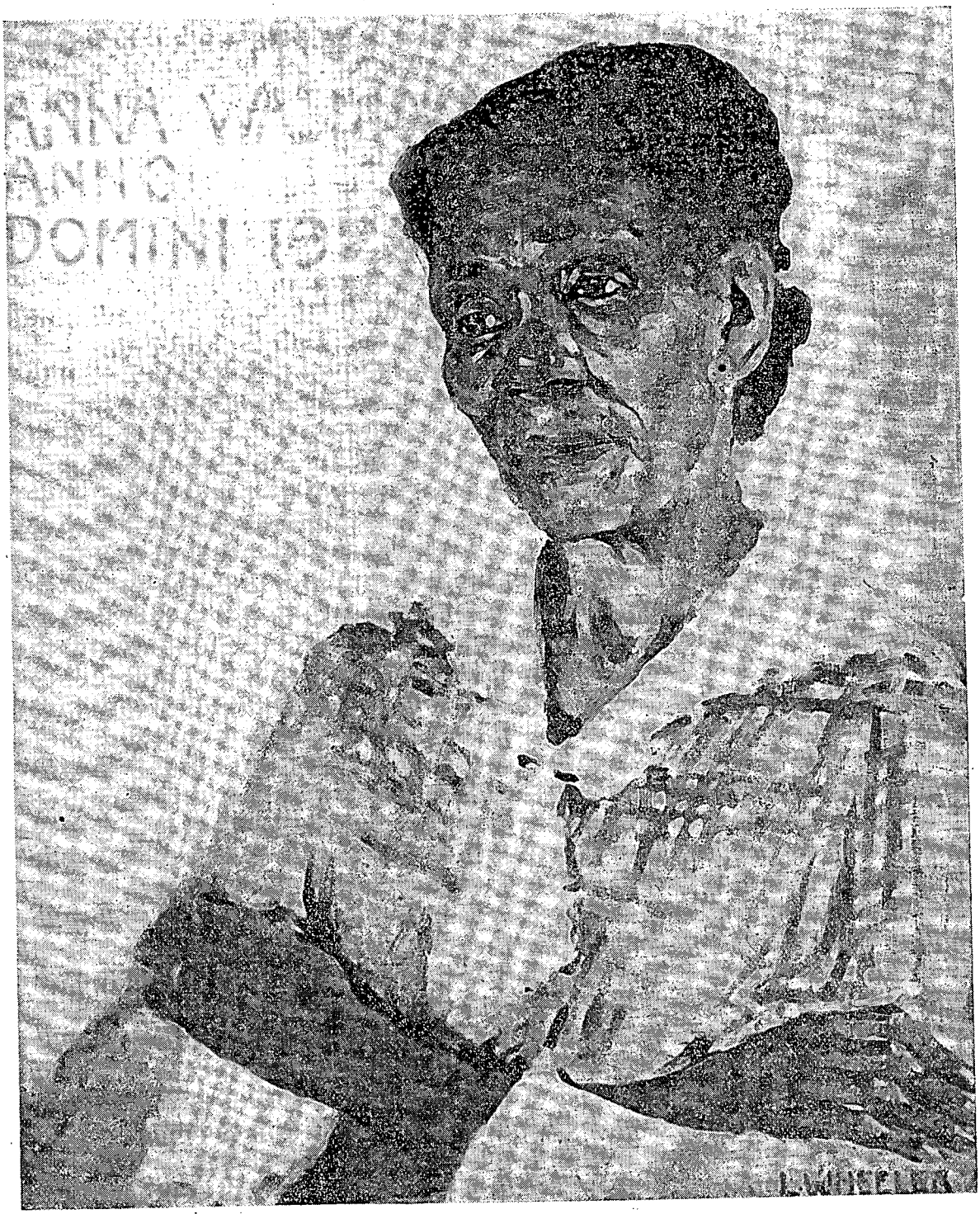

Anna Washington Derry, by Laura Wheeler Waring

SOME disappointment was expressed that this assembling of Negro work gave no more of the special experience and psychology of the Negro than it did. Beside the prize winners there was a drawing of Florence Mills, another of a subway excavation in a typical Harlem street where every little brick house is occupied by Negroes, a baptism in a stream, with men and women and preacher knee-deep in water, a sunflower design, two portraits of distinguished Negroes, a study for a memorial gate for Howard University; but there was a preponderance of the usual subjects that engage artists, whether they work here or abroad. Where, asked those spectators avid for something new in the world, is the evidence of slave ancestors, of social tribulations, of strange religious expressions?

This demand on the Negro artist and writer is yet another kind of exploitation; certainly it is absurd to expect Negroes brought up in an American world, in all sections of that world, young—the prize winners, for instance, are all in their thirties—taught in white schools and academies, to make a unique contribution as a matter of course. The night life of Harlem as seen by Winold Reiss and Covarrubias enters their lives no more than does Broadway the lives of white artists; slavery is as remote as the European experiences of the grandparents of most of us.

There is, moreover, a practical problem. Artists must sell in order to test the value of their work, if not for that most fundamental reason—to make money. In a white world they must sell mainly to whites, and the desire to know the Negro mind intimately is felt still by only a small minority. Luckily, and this is one of the purposes of the Awards, that number is steadily growing. Distinctive Negro art will come in time.—F. L.K.

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Play-making in a Modern School

By MARGARET NAUMBURG

Decorations from studies for stage costumes made by Walden School children

THE "new" education has developed a new kind of school play—a group adventure in evolving a theme, building a plot, working out action and dialog, designing and making scenery and costumes. Here is a verbatim report of such a play and of one of the rehearsals out of which it grew. Here, too, is a discussion of the significant educational philosophy underlying children's play-making in an experimental school. Margaret Naumburg founded Walden School, New York, and was for some years its director. This article is adapted from one of the fourteen dialogs on modern education making up her book, The Child and the World, which will appear this month. It is used here by courtesy of the publishers, Harcourt, Brace and Company. —EDITORS NOTE

THE school director and the modern stage producer sit in the back of the auditorium. A group of children between ten and twelve years of age are giving the dress rehearsal of a play they have created and produced.

SCENE I

A peasant farm in Russia. A peasant father and son are planting in the fields. Son works unwillingly and with dissatisfaction. Old Russian folk-songs are sung behind the scenes.

FATHER. Come, come, my son, you must work. This is no time for idling. (*Son works, then sits down, his face in his hands.*) Peter, Peter, are you dreaming? Are you asleep?

SON. Oh, Father, I hate this work!

FATHER. Hate this work! Hate to plant! Why, my son, we must plant. We must work to get our food.

SON. Every year it is the same thing. We sow and we reap. I'm tired of this.

FATHER. But every year we eat. We don't stop eating.

SON. We are living like the very cattle. They eat, they sleep, they work. Are we no better than they?

FATHER. Of course we are better than the cattle. We bring food out of the soil. We give it to them. Without us they would starve. We are their masters and they are our slaves.

SON. I don't care! I want to go to Moscow and become something great.

FATHER. Those are only dreams, my son. I had them once, too. You will get over them as I did.

SON. Must we stay here forever?

FATHER. As long as we live. We are like that tree there. Our roots are in the soil. If that tree wanted to move, it could not. Neither can we. (*Mother and youngest child rush in with much joyous shouting and noise.*)

ALL. A letter, a letter, a letter! Call Nina!

LITTLE SISTER. Come quick, Nina! Mamma wants you. It's a letter from America!

MOTHER. It's a letter from America! It says everybody's rich in America. They pick money from the streets. They wear fine clothes. They don't have to make up their clothes, they buy them in the stores!

NINA (*older sister*). Beautiful clothes, I wish I could have them!

MOTHER. And they have cars that run in the air and cars that run without horses. And they turn something and the water comes out. And houses twenty times the size of our house and everything! It's wonderful!

SON. It's too wonderful to be true.

MOTHER. It's true! Can't you read it?

SON. It's better than Moscow! Let's go to America! (*Father shakes his head sadly.*)

NINA. Oh, Father, please let us go to America, please, please!

THE OTHERS. Please, please!

FATHER. We can't go. We just planted. What will become of the harvest?

MOTHER. In America you don't have to have the harvest; you can buy the things. Why, of course, we'll go!

FATHER. Where will we get the money from?

MOTHER. You must sell the land. There are plenty of people about who will buy it.

SON. Yes, yes, let us go!

FATHER. Go into the house and let me think about it. I will talk it over with you later.

CURTAIN

PRODUCER. They're not just reciting lines. These children are really acting together. I'll admit to you now that I dreaded coming here this morning. I thought I should just have to sit through one more of those childish plays, produced for the delectation of fond parents. But this is art, pure and simple and direct.

DIRECTOR. Let me tell you how the theme evolved. This group had been saying for some time that they wanted to give a play; but they hadn't adequate material.

PROD. Then your children make their own plays?

DIR. Unless one of the older groups experiments with the other kind of production. Several of the children brought suggestions for a play. One boy wanted to dramatize a robber tale, another a Japanese myth, and a third a romance of the crusades. The class vetoed all these suggestions as uninteresting. A few days later, one of the girls called a class meeting. "Why don't we have a play about America?" she suggested.

"Fine idea," agreed the class, "but what shall it be?"

"You remember when we went to the Russian refugee workshops we all noticed how beautiful the old embroidered linens were. We spoke of the ugliness of some of the modern embroideries made here in America. They told us those uninteresting designs were made to order for rich Americans. They were not Russian peasant designs at all. Now, why couldn't we show what happens to the immigrant who comes to America and finds he can't be true to himself here?"

An enthusiastic "Yes! Yes!" met this plan. "First the

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peasants in Russia," suggests one child, "and then a New York scene in the tenements." Another adds, "I've seen the dirty, crowded places they live in." Said a fourth, "We could use Russian folk-songs and dances for the first scene and make that beautiful and peaceful, in contrast to the dirt and crowding of the lower East Side."

And so the plan grew. But of course without a singularly understanding teacher, such a play could never come to life at all.*

PROD. The outstanding point of this production is that it's not *literary* but it *is dramatic*. In that it differs from most amateur productions either by children or by adults.

DIR. These children make their own plays, but they don't write them out. They decide on a theme, discuss its possibilities. Certain episodes take form. They try working on those experimentally. Sometimes the climax of a play crystallizes before the minor episodes. Every one tries the different characters until the group chooses the best actor for each role. But the dialog never remains the same, either in rehearsal or production.

PROD. You've gone back to the original tradition?

DIR. Yes, our ideal approximates much more nearly the old *Commedia dell' Arte* than the modern theater. We attempt to help children discover that gesture, variety of bodily expression and tone of voice, rather than mere utterance of spoken words, are the essence of dramatic expression.

PROD. If such a training were only general we might some day have a theater in America. But how can you find teachers?

DIR. It's not easy. There goes the curtain. I'll tell you more after this scene.

[The second scene is the farewell of the children to their Russian friends as they leave for America.]

PROD. They've done it! That little episode is movin- because those children actually create the Russian village scene. Their selection and restraint are remarkable. They might have put the whole family on the stage. But how much more effective to have had just the children, pulling themselves away from their native soil!

DIR. Well, here's America.

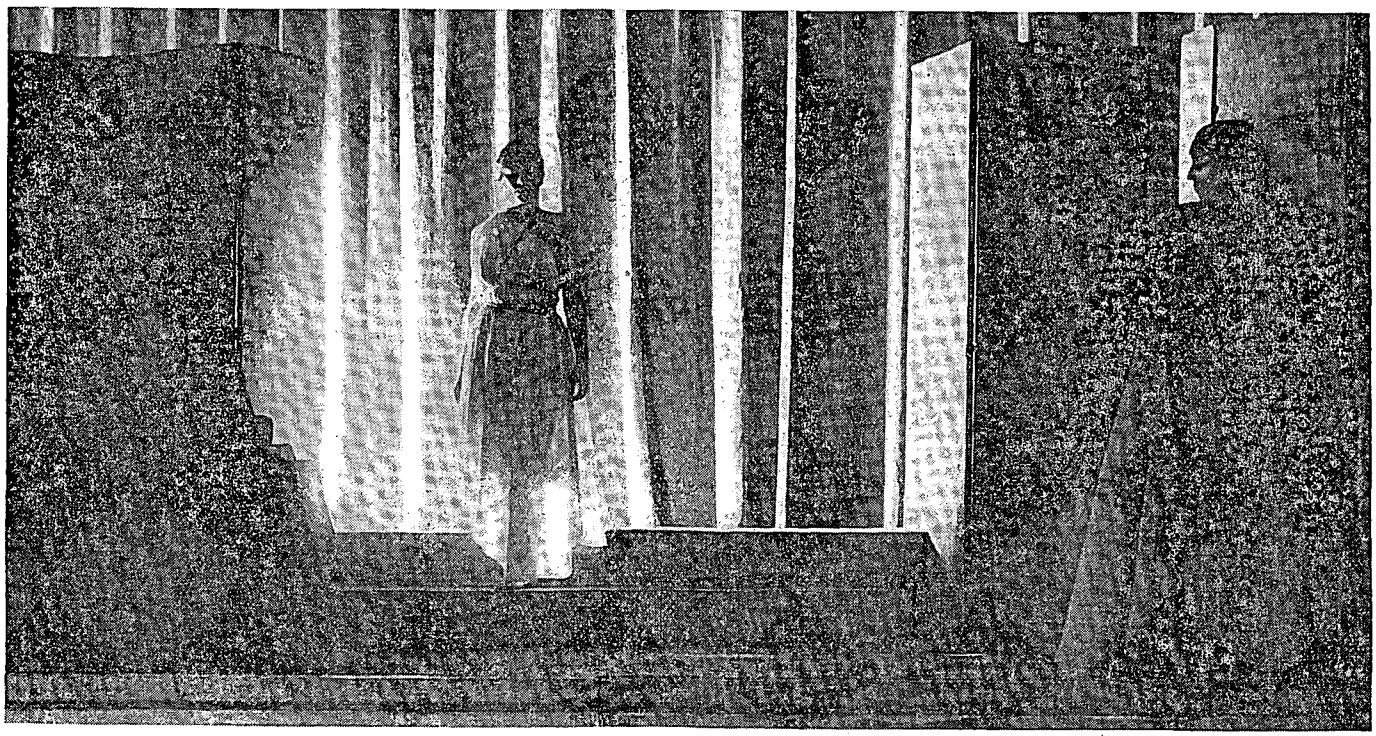
[The curtain rises. The children have painted a backdrop of a jagged New York skyline; in the foreground, a tenement with lines of wash hanging from the window.]

SCENE III

In America. Mother, shabbily dressed, sitting on the doorstep peeling potatoes. Her youngest child at her feet.

A PASSER-BY. Do you know where number sixty is?
MOTHER. Yes, go right down there to the left.
A NEIGHBOR. Oh, good morning! How have you been lately?
MOTHER. I have been fine. How are you and how is little Jimmy?
NEIGHBOR. Oh, I am fine and Jimmy is getting better.
MOTHER. Aren't potatoes terribly high? It's one of the best things you can get though to nourish the children.
NEIGHBOR. Yes. Good-bye. (*Exit*)
UMBRELLA MENDER. Umbrellas! Umbrellas! Umbrellas to fix! (*Exit*)
PEDDLER. Hot dogs for sale! Hot dogs for sale! Hot dogs! Hot dogs! (*Exit*)
YOUNG DAUGHTER. Ma, give me a penny!
MOTHER. No, we haven't got enough pennies.
DAUGHTER. I want a penny! Give me a penny! Give me a penny! A penny!
MOTHER (*Taking out her purse*). Look, there are only five pennies.
DAUGHTER. I don't care. Ma, please, please give me a penny! You will give me a penny!
MOTHER. All right, here, dear.
DAUGHTER. Goody, goody, I have a penny! (*Runs out. Comes back with her little friend.*) Don't you wish you had what I have? (*Brushes into her. They fight.*) Ma! Ma! (*Mother comes to her rescue. Enter Father.*)
MOTHER. Hello, dear, how's your work today?
FATHER. Hard, hard as usual and little pay. I almost broke by back getting a stone out of a ditch. Rubbish! Rubbish! (*Kicking it*) Always rubbish! Always in front of my door.

* Berta Rautz of the Walden School directed the group who developed this play material.



Photograph by Florence Vandamm, New York

Scene from a Walden School production of Christopher Morley's Dr. Faustus, by the fifteen- and sixteen-year olds

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Sloth

They said we could pick up money on the streets and all we pick up is rubbish! (*Enter Anna, Nina's jazzy American friend. She stops to powder her nose.*)

ANNA (*In a tough voice*). Hello, where's Nina?

MOTHER. She hasn't come home yet. How are you?

ANNA. All right. I'll wait for her. (*Slouches against the doorway.*)

MOTHER. It's a nice day, isn't it.

ANNA. Suits me. (*Chewing a piece of gum. Enter Nina.*)

NINA. Hello, Anna. Oh, what a pretty dress! Gee, I wish I had it!

ANNA. Oh, it's all right. I got it in the five-and-ten.

NINA. What's up tonight?

ANNA. Nothing; come on over to my house.

NINA. All right. (*To her mother*) Haven't you any pride to sit here on the doorstep and peel potatoes? Why don't you peel them in the house? And look at Father's clothes! Can't he keep them clean?

MOTHER. You father is tired. He works hard. Is it his fault that his clothes are dirty? Haven't you any regard for your father?

NINA. Oh, bother! (*Enter Son.*)

MOTHER. It's bad enough to be poor, but it's worse to lose your children's respect.

FATHER. I wish we were in Russia. In Russia my children loved me; they looked up to me; they told me everything they were doing. I come here for them and now we have lost them.

MOTHER. Oh, I wish I was in Russia!

SON. Oh, my, it's not as bad as that! I am a mechanic and soon I'll be able to support you. How's that?

MOTHER. You're my only hope. Look at Nina! She doesn't pay any attention to us. She works and uses everything for herself. She takes our money and she doesn't even give us her love.

NINA. Oh, I don't want you to say that! Oh, I don't want you to say that! I want you to be proud of me. I don't want you to say that. I am sorry, very sorry. I'll never do it again! (*Mother embraces her.*)

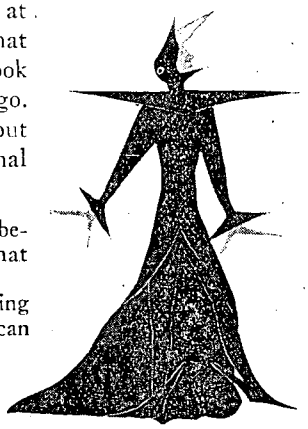
YOUNG DAUGHTER. Me, too! Me, too. Pet me too, Mother! Sing me a song, Father! (*Father sings farm song. Family sit around him on the steps.*)

NINA. Oh, remember when we used to sing that in Russia! (*The whole family sings an old peasant song together.*)

CURTAIN

PROD. Those youngsters really pulled it off! What they say is simple, but it's always poignant. The just phrase is always there. It's rightness seems never an accident. More than ever I want you to tell me how this play grew.

DIR. Let me read you bits of the stenographic report of an earlier rehearsal. We often take down such reports for school records. This is the class at work with their teacher on that last scene. This discussion took place, remember, two months ago. Nothing had yet been done about costumes and scenery. The final form was still undecided.



Pride

TEACHER. Let's go back to the beginning of the third scene. What do you want to do there?

ALICE. The kid might come in sucking a stick of candy and say—"Oh, can I go to the movies?" In Russia they were content and now they want everything.

EDITH. They must not be too content.

ALICE. And the sister might come in and say, "Let's go."

EDITH. And she laughs at the old man.

LILLIAN. She might even say "shut up" to her father. In Russia she would be good to him, but here she has no respect for him.

EDITH. And then they begin to sing that old song—

LILLIAN. And then she begins to feel sorry and starts singing.

ALICE. I think the daughter and son should be the main part.

LILLIAN. And the child is spoiled.

TEACHER. How are you going to have the father?

LILLIAN. He's sitting on the doorstep. The mother might be peeling potatoes or she might be resting.

ALICE. The girls take most of the money that the father earns.

LILLIAN. Oh, I know—the mother's on the doorstep peeling potatoes and the father's coming home from work tired.

TEACHER. Let's try the father coming home from work. Edith, will you do the part of the father?

EDITH (*Runs out and then comes in as the father. She has a saddened, hopeless expression. She sits down*). I haven't anything to say; it's just sort of a worried look.

TEACHER. I wonder if any of the things he's thinking about would show in his actions as he comes down the street?

LILLIAN. Somebody could be just going by and carrying some papers and scattering them before the door.

ALICE (*Picking up papers with a look of disgust*). Oh, the dirtiness of these people, dropping paper in front of our door! Can't they throw it in front of their own door?

Knight

LILLIAN. But why should she take up the papers and then throw them in front of somebody else's door? That wouldn't be right.

EDITH. I should think she'd put it in the pail.

TEACHER. Are you picturing to yourselves the feelings of a man who finds dirt before his door?

EDITH. He might be a little cross. He might kick it away.

TEACHER. What else can you picture besides paper?

RUTH. Orange peel

MARGARET (*Trying the part of father, kicking dirt*). Why do they always have to be throwing things around? Can't they put it some place?

HENRY. Margaret says, "Why don't they put it some place?" and then she kicks it some place. Why doesn't she pick it up?

TEACHER. This man is tired after a day's work. He is disgusted with life in America. He comes home and finds this before his door. Do you think he's going to talk in a sensible, logical fashion?

LILLIAN (*Coming in as the Father*). Oh, Oh, always rubbish in front of my door. (*Kicks rubbish viciously.*)

EDITH. I think she's a little too tough.

TEACHER. Get the sense of complete dissatisfaction.

LILLIAN. Let's have the wife sitting there.

RUTH. Let the wife come out in front of the door.

TEACHER. Is there any difference in husband and wife, in their relation to each other?

LILLIAN. They don't seem to have their children any more.

TEACHER. Are they going to be driven farther apart, or is it going to bring them closer together?

ALICE I don't think there's as much respect for themselves and for their children. The children have no respect for them either.

EDITH. I think they love each other still more because they have no one else.

TEACHER. Let us try this scene. Alice, will you try the wife? Ethel, you try the part of Father.

ETHEL (*Walks in as Father*). Peeling potatoes out here?

HENRY. Ethel comes over and grabs both her hands, just like a little child.

TEACHER. I hesitated about you, Ethel, because you haven't a

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real feeling for the part of a man; you have more of a child's feeling.

HENRY. He just comes in and shakes hands with his wife and—

ALICE. I'd kiss her.

LILLIAN. Perhaps she could see him coming down the street.

TEACHER. What do you think about the other entrance of the father? Do you still want that?

ALL. Yes.

MARGARET. First he comes in and says "hello" and then he sees the rubbish.

LILLIAN. Oh, I have something! Let me try the father! (*Coming in as Father.*) Oh, why do they always put rubbish in front of my door? Oh, I have had such a hard day's work and no thanks for it!

Chorus

TEACHER. What's the thing that's troubling you most here, Father?

EDITH. He came to America.

ALBERT. He could say, "I thought we could pick money off the streets," or something like that.

TEACHER. Do you want to try the father's part?

LILLIAN. Oh, I have an idea for the father—

HENRY. I have an idea for the father—

MARGARET. Oh, let me try the father!

TEACHER. All right, Margaret.

MARGARET (*as father*). Oh, rubbish again! Always rubbish!

ALICE (*as mother peeling potatoes*). Isn't it terrible!

MARGARET. Oh, I am so tired; it never used to be this way in Russia. They said here you could pick up money off the streets. All you pick up is rubbish. I get up at sunrise and work and work and work.

TEACHER. That's very interesting.

EDITH. That's good! That's peachy!

ALBERT. If all this takes place on the steps, then wouldn't people be looking at them?

LILLIAN. They're not living on Fifth Avenue where people go by.

ALBERT. Nobody lives on Fifth Avenue—there are only stores there.

TEACHER. There are people who live in parts of New York like this where they do sit on stoops and discuss things—discuss their family affairs.

EDITH. Oh, sure, they do lots of things.

HENRY. I live down there. Sure, they do it.

TEACHER. You know, the first person to come in need not be the father. It might be a neighbor. Mother might talk to the neighbor for a while and go on peeling potatoes.

LILLIAN. She'd better be a man, so the wife can mistake him for her husband.

PROD. There's no doubt these children were alive to the interior drama of their own creation. I see now that the raw material for dramatic form lies within the powers of such children; perhaps in groups even younger. But how in the world find adults who combine the necessary stage technic with the wisdom to hold a balance between direction, encouragement and original expression?

DIR. That's just what I'd like to see you accomplish with a group here in the school. I have no illusions about the play you've just seen. But as you realized, it would take rare teachers with a genuine sense of the theater and direct training in its methods to carry out what we have in mind.

PROD. Don't you know that you are setting up ideals no Broadway producer can touch? We do not have actors any more—only stars or stellar aspirants who exalt their own idiosyncracies. They don't know and don't care about the theater except as a means of exploiting themselves. I doubt whether your school people can learn much from us at present. But I can come here and get a great deal.

DIR. School plays have heretofore been thrown in for amusement rather than made integral parts of the year's work.

PROD. I don't see how you could carry out the promise of thorough dramatic training for these children and still include all the present-day school subjects.

DIR. We do have to limit the periods for the preparation of plays far too rigidly, especially in the older groups. Last year, for instance, the fifteen-year-old class developed the idea of a pageant—a drama of evolution called From Dust to Dust. It opens with the impregnation of matter with life, in the strange half-light of cosmic space. Out of the shadows two grains of dust swirl into combination, grow and expand. Through the phases of animal adaptation the animals evolve. Then comes primitive man. The evolution of man was to include episodes through ancient, mediaeval and modern times. The children were staggered as they envisaged the scope of the plan. Limits of time and school conditions made it necessary to select only certain scenes out of the original scheme. The opening of the play is impressive and gives a sense of awe and wonder. The *finale* occurs in a modern school, 3000 A.D. Infant prodigies in spectacles and blue rompers hold forth on light rays and baby-carriage romances. The professor announces, when a student is about to choke himself with his own experiment, "Well, I'm sure I can't do anything about it. The policy of the school definitely sets forth that the instructors are by no means to interfere with a pupil while he is expressing himself."

PROD. So these youngsters can give a satiric thrust!

DIR. Oh, they are quite merciless at times. But in other moods a profound yearning drives them in search of some unassailable truth, some ultimate value to hold them secure amid the swirling chaos of life.

PROD. Tell me a little more of your preliminary work with the younger children.

DIR. They begin by imitating familiar animals, bunnies, pussies, dogs, bears, and so forth.

PROD. But all children do that.

DIR. We encourage their first impulses of imitation. They are play, but to us they are also the foundation for future dramatic work. Sometimes the shy playfulness of a tumbling kitten, or the rhythmic thud of a lumbering elephant or the flying leap of an escaping rabbit crosses their class-room floor. These fragmentary animal plays grow into complete pantomimes of animal folk-tales. They remain in wordless action until all at once the necessity of further expression produces a grunt or growl, or a triumphant phrase at the climax of a play.

Evil Angel

PROD. That's good. I say that, I suppose, because it fits in with my theory that pure miming should be the only way of expressing action until a sense of necessity forces words into the scene.

DIR. It's not easy to hold children to the use of pantomime.

PROD. Is that because there is so little genuine pantomime

(*Continued on page* 560)

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Color for School Walls

Mural Paintings by George Laurence Nelson

ONE thinks backward of school buildings as cheerless places, the bare windows pouring a chill light upon unadorned walls; of here and there an attempt to coax growing plants in a row of pots; of paper flowers cut out by the younger grades; of worthy but gray engravings, of sepia reproductions of brilliant paintings — all so dull. And of children who love brightness and story. . . . But original paintings are expensive. An occasional association has arisen in parts of the country to purchase good paintings to present to the public schools. And in a few places the children themselves have by concerts and plays raised the money to enliven their own walls.

A number of these murals in the New York public schools by George Laurence Nelson, painter and instructor at the National Academy of Design, were procured through such efforts of the children. They are designed to fir the minds of young people in ideals and allegory. As is the case in all murals, much of their value is lost here by reproduction without color and without their natural setting as a part of the space for which they were designed. The painting above, Education Inspires Youth, is the center of three above the entrance at Public School 55, the Bronx, New York City, the left panel being Service, the right, Loyalty. In the same school is another painting by Mr. Nelson, the Ideal School, which shows the three activities of the school, work, study and play. Children of this school posed for the figures in these groups, and brought flowers and even their pet rabbit to be a part of the design. The painting at the left is part of a large decoration for the State Normal School at Plattsburgh. It pictures young students coming from small communities to talk over their education with the instructor and their glimpses of wider horizons. F. L. K.

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A Moral Boundary for Civilization

By JOHN PALMER GAVIT

IT MAKES a great difference in the way things appear, whether you are on the outside looking in, or on the inside looking out. As the old rigamarole put it: "Did you ever stop to think how much nicer it is to sit in a carriage and think how much nicer it is to sit in a carriage than it is to walk than it is to walk and think how much nicer it is to sit in a carriage than it is to walk?" Sound sense and psychology that, and a deep truth.

So, sitting as I am at this writing somewhat deeply within the house and the life behind the German neighbors' doorway, Secretary Kellogg's multilateral peace proposal, involving in words at least the complete abandonment of war as an instrument of international intercourse, I get a different slant upon it from what would be possible from the proposing end. Oddly enough, however, the different slant does not materially change the aspect. So far as I can see or sense the underground currents that flow through from other countries, the complete good faith of the United States as a people—and equally that of Mr. Kellogg himself and Mr. Coolidge behind him—is accepted at par in every responsible quarter.

BARRING the somewhat vague but very widespread fear of Russia, whose mysterious potentialities are regarded (chiefly because of the mystery) with a trepidation not unlike that of a family of children living next-door to a cemetery; these nations are looking upon each other with less and less of suspicion. The defeat and disarming of Germany, compelling her leadership to find other than military terms in which to express both self-defense and ambition, has had much to do with this. There is a distinct *softening* of feeling in Germany and France toward each other. Even on the subject of the eastern boundary—the Polish Corridor—about whose injustice and political absurdity (as they see it) all Germans regardless of political complexion are unanimous, there is a curious kind of patience; hope that somehow time, economic factors, a growth of reasonableness, will bring about a solution.

OF COURSE, in Germany as elsewhere, there are the hard-boiled, the die-hards, the congenital believers in force as the only means by which international relations can be adjusted; but they are not much listened to. For the time being anyway, these peoples have had enough of that.

The chief disturbing factor is Italy; nobody knows what might emerge from that source in case Mussolini and his associates should think it necessary to meet internal dissatisfaction by a war-diversion. Over against that, however, is a certain confidence that in the show-down the rest of the world would not permit it. Italy could not carry on war on any considerable scale without the consent of England and France—not to mention the United States—and supplies of materials from Germany. A highly sophisticated old diplomatist who speaks "American" said to me:

"I see only a boastful chap indulging in big talk, declaring that he can and will lick anybody in the neighborhood, understanding all the time very well that the policeman on the beat won't let him."

The Bulletin (Glasgow)

NO PLACE TO PLAY WITH FIRE

The World: "Hey, you—! Get out of there! Want to set the whole place ablaze again?"

ONCE in the old days in Cuba, General Weyler, the Spanish governor-general, told our minister, General Fitzhugh Lee, that a regiment of Spanish soldiers could march from New Orleans to New York without difficulty.

"They could, Your Excellency," replied Lee, "provided they behaved themselves."

"And supposing they did not, what you call 'behave themselves'?"

"They would be arrested

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by the first constable they met," said the minister.

NOW the truth is that the only country which is really feared by this Europe, when you come to the subject of world peace and measures to maintain it by any sort of international agreement, is the United States. Almost universally there is the feeling, not that the United States is disposed or likely in any circumstances to commit aggression upon any European country; but that in the event of such aggression on the part of any other country, and measures on the part of the nations members of the League of Nations to repress it, the United States would undermine and defeat those measures by supplying war materials to that aggressor; would ostentatiously demand "neutral" rights of free transit, "freedom of the seas," etc., and so nullify the effort. We are not suspected of war-intentions on our own part; we are believed to have our national conscience located more or less exclusively in the cash-drawer.

THIS is why Mr. Kellogg's big initiative is regarded as so important—far beyond the significance or utility of any words in the multilateral treaty which he has proposed and which has been so enthusiastically accepted almost everywhere. By this proposal the United States has committed itself morally, unequivocally, to the cause of the outlawry of war. It is felt that for us to propose such a sweeping agreement has put us in such a position morally that to violate its *spirit* in any circumstances would place us beyond the pale of human decency. And I must say again that no one worthy of attention with whom I have discussed the matter has appeared to have the slightest doubt of our good faith. The thing is thought to have significance far beyond the scope of mere expressions. As Professor Madariaga said in the London Times, "from the point of view of the world community, the Briand-Kellogg 'conversations' are perhaps the greatest event since the Covenant of the League of Nations entered into force, and, if 'event' sounds too sanguine, let us say 'promise'."

Right here it is appropriate to mention that the original suggestion was made, not by M. Kellogg, not by M. Briand, but by Professor Shotwell of New York, to whom history some day ought to give primary credit in this business. Hitherto it has not been customary to attribute to their real sources the initiative in such matters. Generally monarchs and prime ministers have swiped the glory.

ANOTHER thing stands out, marking the distance we have come. Proposals for the perpetuation of international peace are nothing new. More than three hundred years ago (1623), in the early stages of the Thirty Years War, one Emeric Crucé published at Paris a book proposing a universal association of monarchs, as "images of God, guardians of peoples," to be something like a league of nations. Henry IV, king of France, put forth his "Great Design" to the same general purpose. Even William Penn contributed a dream. You will find all this and much more set forth in Dwight W. Morrow's admirable study, The Society of Free States, published (Harpers) in 1919. But all the old schemes contemplated monarchs disposing of their peoples with all good-will. This Kellogg proposal makes the high contracting parties

. . . declare *in the names of their respective peoples* that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy . . . agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise between them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

SO FAR as mere words go, a coach-and-four can be driven through the document. "Self-defense" remains the primary right of every nation, and each reserves in one way or another liberty to define that term as regards its own actions. In the nature of the tangled international situation, Great Britain, for example, will construe as "self-defense" resistance to any interference with Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, etc. At the last, the virtue and virility of the whole enterprise hang upon the *state of mind*. States of mind, especially in the mobs of ill-informed, easily led human beings constituting the nations, are ephemeral; and those who play upon them know how to use the instruments and emotions out of which states of mind are swiftly created and swayed.

THE important thing to realize is that the will-to-peace, based in a realization of the consequences of modern war, is growing. And, what is more important, habits and instrumentalities such as never existed before are in being and functioning tolerably well for international understanding and cooperation. As a rule, men do not fight when they are working together to common purpose.

When we refused to join the League of Nations, an enterprise peculiarly American in its initiative, we threw away a position of moral leadership and imperilled the success of the undertaking. It has succeeded greatly despite our attitude. Events and necessity have compelled us to associate ourselves with its operation in innumerable ways; the logic of history during these past ten years has drawn us closer and closer to it and in it. We almost belong. Now Mr. Kellogg has in great measure restored to us that surrendered leadership. He has gone far to make international understanding fashionable. It is a great stride, far outreaching the scope of mere disarmament proposals. In the face of such a declaration as this, competition in the building of navies becomes *prima facie* absurd.

EUROPE does not lose sight of the fact that the military unpreparedness of the United States means nothing in the long run. They saw Uncle Sam slowly but surely get his old steam-roller into action; they remember what that action meant. So, when that same Uncle Sam assumes the leadership in a common declaration that there shall be no more of that, they take it seriously, more or less regardless of the forms and technical sufficiency of the words in which it is expressed. It was to be taken for granted that Germany would welcome the move; she has nothing to lose and all to gain. Japan likewise. Of immensely greater significance and propitious import is the adherence of Italy, France and Great Britain.

With all allowance for human frailty and the futility of "scraps of paper" as bulwarks against eruptions of "self-defense," a great step has been taken; a corner turned in the progress of the race.

A VERY hard-boiled and notably cynical old German Nationalist said to me, of the Kellogg proposal:

"It is to be taken very seriously. This thing has immense scope. Your secretary of state has not only assumed for your country a great moral obligation, he has created a moral boundary for the rest of us. Any nation assuming this obligation will by violating its spirit place itself outside the pale of civilization."

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Letters & Life

In which books, plays and people are discussed

Edited by LEON WHIPPLE

THE EDGE OF TOWN

Woodcut by J. J. Lankes for Town and Country, by Elva E. Miller, University of North Carolina Press

Caesar or God?

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THE WARS OF THE GODLY, *by Reuben Maury. McBride. 318 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

WAYNE WHEELER, *Dry Boss, by Justin Steuart. Revell. 304 pp. Price $3.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

PRESSURE POLITICS: *The Story of The Anti-Saloon League, by Peter Odegard. Columbia University Press. 299 pp. Price $3.50 postpaid by The Survey.*

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE MODERN STATE, *by Charles C. Marshall. Dodd-Mead. 350 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

AL SMITH, THE POPE AND THE PRESIDENCY, *by Theodore Schroeder. Published by the author, 18 East 10 Street, New York City. 212 pp. Price $2.50.*

CATHOLICISM AND THE AMERICAN MIND, *by Winfred Ernest Garrison. Willett, Clark & Colby. 267 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE ancient cry is abroad again—church versus state! The searchlight of the presidential campaign has just illumined one sector of a broad battle. Men are asking everywhere: What is truth? How may we find truth? You may choose one of four answers: through experience judged by reason (science); through revelation of God's will by a church that is infallible (Catholicism), by a church based on the individual conscience guided by scripture (Protestantism), by the will of the people (democracy). The entanglement of these ways to truth has left the plain man puzzled and lonely, or skeptically indifferent.

Is he a citizen of New York or of the City of God? Which set of laws shall he obey? What police powers has each sovereignty? If his hope be in eternity, what can he do now to win eternity: follow reason and science—be a modernist? Follow revelation and tradition—be a fundamentalist? Follow his sole conscience—be a Quaker (or Anarchist) libertarian? Follow pragmatic humanitarianism—be a social service Christian? The immediate issue sharpens down to this: Is the will

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of God incarnate in the pope? Or the president? Or perhaps in the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations? And is it true (or was it ever) that *vox populi* is *vox Dei?*

The restless urgency of the quest is proven by the list of books above, all published within six months. They constitute a compendium of the main issues, and I shall try to tell what each offers to those who are trying to keep their heads in this hurly-burly.

WALTER LIPPMANN, in the deepest and simplest book he has written, presents the irreconcilable conflict between the few who can depend on the experimental and inconclusive ways of reason and the democratic masses of Dayton or Chicago who, busy with every-day living, must depend on easily grasped general dogmas—the fundamentalism of revealed religion, or the slogans of nationalistic history. The danger, to him, is that since democracy pays the piper (school bills) it will call the tune, to wit, no doctrine of evolution, and an American, not a universal, version of history. Second, since few are yet ready for the delicate faiths of reason, it is hopeless to expect our democracy to be tolerant. The book is a lengthened statement, lightened by admirable Socratic dialogs between Bryan and Jefferson, fundamentalist and modernist, of the yet unanswered question: How can the tyrannic democracy be taught to hearken to and follow the critics and innovators who challenge the very axioms on which the democracy believes its safety and success depend?

Mr. Lippmann admirably points out that with the increasing leisure granted by mastery of machines, more of us may learn the life of reason. He also refuses to win the easy laugh by castigating the folly of the people's leaders. But however honest and noble this study, it solves nothing and offers no program. Its value is in the clear statement of the problem, the recognition of the value of the traditionalist's point-of-view, and the rejection of the slogans of immature radicals who regard liberty as a ticket on a personal joy-ride.

THE Inquiring Mind by Chafee is just that. It will teach you how to approach these problems. The author is a lawyer, a New Englander, and a conservative in politics and economics. But his love of liberty, constitutional rights, fair-play, and reason have enabled him to transcend all native bonds and become interpreter and defender of human rights. These are studies of test-cases of freedom and serve as foot-notes to his fine book, Freedom of Speech. They range from the Bimba case, involving religious liberty, to studies of the use of injunctions in strikes. They will bring you up-to-date on the actual daily struggles to keep us free. But more than aught else, Chafee teaches an attitude—the very attitude Mr. Lippmann believes is our salvation, that of open-mindedness to all truth and all men while one clings to his own faith and standards.

THE same attitude, in less degree, is revealed by Lucius Swift's primer-like and naive study of the origins of our liberties. His struggle is hard because he is a legalist and a humanitarian, not a libertarian. His ideal of freedom is limited to constitutional forms. He admires all the old revolutionists, but distrusts all the new. Yet this fight to be fair, tolerant, and escape from prejudice is wholly fine, and represents perhaps the exact situation in which many intelligent people, newly concerned with liberty, find themselves. They are willing, but fearful. So his book will be an easy first step. It gives a digest of how hard the fight has been and sets forth historical backgrounds in an interesting, if not always realistic, manner. The long chapter on religious liberty in England and the United States will serve as an introduction to our present conflict. But do not stop with him. He is not always complete or sound.

IN Wars of the Godly, Reuben Maury tells the oft bloody tale of the struggles of the sects from the days of Puritan intolerance and Maryland's dealing with the Catholics down through the Know-Nothings and American Protective Association to date with the Ku Klux Klan's attack on Catholic and Jew. He gives the preceding chapters of the serial of which the last instalment is the drama of this presidential campaign. The tale is vastly enlightening, even consoling, for it proves these outbursts are not fatal. He shows that the danger is not in religion or the churches, but in the use of religious bigotry by politicians. He also shows that these politico-religious crusades always petered out, and the sought were never attained.

Mr. Maury is really giving the history of the fight by American nativism against the Catholic Church, and its often alien constituency. He does not cover the crusade against the Mormons, the discriminations against Jews, or the minor sufferings of the Christian Scientists. The book is marred by a flip journalism and a kind of hard-boiled youthful cynicism, but the style can be disregarded for the real meat of research the volume offers.

THE passage of the prohibition Amendment by the organized political powers of the American Protestant churches is really the text of Pressure Politics, and the life of Wayne Wheeler, field marshall of the movement. Mr. Odegard takes the Anti-Saloon League as a specimen of a pressure group that by highly organized propaganda forces legislative action. But though he seems to feel there was something wrong in this method for the churches, I cannot see any proofs of subversion of state sovereignty or interference with religious liberty. Indeed, I think the author could have gotten a better specimen of a pressure group in the giant-power lobby. The League produced none of the evils of the church in state. It did not coerce voters by threats of damnation or promises of paradise (the awful and dangerous prerogative of religions) but moved them by arguments based on morals, economics, health, labor, and humanitarianism. It got voters and funds from the churches, but it enforced no church dogma of discrimination on the state. The league's sin, if any, seems to have been that it got prohibition by political methods before it had educated the people to obey or enforce the law; and that the success of its politics sidetracked its moral and educational efforts before the job was done.

WAYNE WHEELER is clearly revealed as depending almost solely on political methods in this book that is more a study of his legislative endeavors than of his personal life or even of the man as a type. Mr. Odegard is rich in the minutiae of organization, and Mr. Steuart in legislative detail, but somehow both miss throwing light either on prohibition as a social fact or the churches as agents of morality through secular persuasions.

IF a Catholic is ever elected President of the United States, will the Pope run the White House? That is the real church-state issue in American popular thought. Here are three books that give the Anti-Catholic critique. Mr. Marshall, expanding his famous Atlantic Monthly letter to Governor Smith, gives an unimpassioned full-length study of the claims of the Catholic Church as revealed in its own dicta; Mr. Schroeder questions the governor's personal psychology with that wealth of erudite citation and psychologic interpretation that make his books more enlightening and more confusing than those of any other student of liberty; Mr. Garrison, literary editor of The Christian Century and professor of church history in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, offers to Protestants as fair an interpretation of "the mysterious stranger" as he is able to compass within the limits of his prejudice.

All three come to the same conclusions: that according to the dogmas of the Catholic Church it can never tolerate other

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churches where it has power to outlaw them; that by nature it believes that God is higher than Caesar and that it is only practical compromise that keeps the church from proclaiming its own sovereignty superior to the state's; that the church's claim to jurisdiction over the morals of its communicants sets up a twilight zone wherein fall the grave problems of education and marriage over which both church and state claim rights. They believe these doctrines are not issues in daily practice but that they contain the permanent germs of conflict, however sincere Governor Smith may be in his belief that in office he can fulfil his constitutional oath and his submission to the church at one and the same time.

Mr. Schroeder is particularly interesting because he speaks for the agnostic libertarian who must protect himself by keeping the state absolutely secular. He suggests that the president, though he may not be able to legislate, appoints the supreme judiciary that passes on all legislation. None of these men questions Governor Smith's personal sincerity; they think either he does not know what he is talking about, or that he cannot predict what he would do under pressure.

THIS question of liberty versus authority, whether the authority be state or church, is the paramount issue of our generation. You would do well to understand its meaning. Mr. Lippmann will give you the metaphysics, Mr. Maury the American history in rough, and Mr. Marshall the present status. Your own decision will, of course, depend on whether you believe in a soul of which the destiny is in part fixed by what you do on earth, and in an eternity that is longer than a presidential term, or even the duration of a scientific hypothesis.

LEON WHIPPLE

Witches and Warlocks

A MIRROR FOR WITCHES, *by Esther Forbes. Houghton Mifflin. 214 pp. Price $2.50 postpaid of The Survey.*

HANNAH BILBY, that "lusty, jealous woman," was haunted by fear because, after twenty barren years she had deceived her husband by the promise of an heir. And so, as her supposed time drew near, she told herself and her neighbors that her unborn babe had been "blasted" by the witchcraft of queer, alien little Doll Bilby. Doll was the foster child that Captain Jared Bilby brought home from France after the holocaust at Mont Hoel, when more than two hundred Bretons, Doll's mother and father among them, were burned as "witches and warlocks."

Hannah's tale (and her jealousy) went with Doll to the New World. At Cowan Corners, near Salem, arose other circumstances that only witchcraft could explain. A dangerous bull, for instance, came tamely enough to the goblin-girl. The deacon's stolid son who "lusted after Doll with an unholy passion," quickly wasted away to a shadow. The Thumb twins nearly died of the sickness that seized them after eating the poppets Doll fashioned for them. Doll herself, shunned and lonely, haunted by vague memories of her dead mother and her mother's folk tales, scarred by her childhood's horror, swept by yearnings she did not understand, unnerved by her foster father's death, unable to attain to "the peace of God"—Doll found a fierce satisfaction and final content in her own aloofness, in her dedication to Satan, in her secret blasphemies, most of all, in that passionate and tender "demon lover" her Black Lord sent her.

Esther Forbes puts aside the terminology of modern psychology. She tells her poignant tale with the righteous pen of a hundred-per-cent Christian of the seventeenth century, who sets down "the Life, Machinations and Death of Famous Doll Bilby" in those comfortable days when judge and hangman and minister of God had rid Salem neighborhood of the worst of its witches.

This Mirror for Witches reflects not only the moving story of a tortured child. It brings before us a community ruled by fear and ignorance, living under the shadow of a hideous deity and the smoke of a burning hell. And, as we peer more closely, it shows us, too, the narrow faith of each age in its own superior wisdom; and perhaps, also, a glimpse of some clear-eyed, gently ironic writer of a more civilized day, weaving his story against the background of a remote, incredible twentieth century, with its savage "red raids" and brutal lynchings, its prison cells and electric chairs, its Yellow Peril and Bolshevik Menace, its faith in liquid fire and poison gas and battleships and trenches!

BEULAH AMIDON

Social Science Builds a Monument

THE POLISH PEASANT IN EUROPE AND AMERICA, *by William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. Knopf. Two volumes. 2250 pp. Price $10.00 postpaid of The Survey.*

THE republication of this monumental work in two volumes, instead of five in the original edition, without abridgement and at a price about one-third of the original, is an event of significance in American social science, and incidentally in American book manufacturing. In the decade passed, nothing has challenged its right to first place in the growing list of scientific monographs on peoples and cultures.

Not intended primarily as an ethnographic study of the Polish peasant—although it has become the standard reference work—it is rather an experiment in the application of the sociological method to the problems of social life. The methodological note of 86 pages, and the introduction of 216 pages, are regarded by competent sociologists as the most comprehensive, the most fundamental, and the most analytical exposition of scientific method in the social sciences in existence. Here is set forth the theory underlying the attempt to apply to social reality a procedure analogous to the rational technique which has yielded such amazing results from material reality.

That such a technique would revolutionize our control over the crises that constantly arise in social life, is scarcely open to doubt. The need for some such method is indicated by the fact that the "ordering-and-forbidding" technique, i.e., meeting a social problem "by an arbitrary act of will decreeing the disappearance of the undesirable or the appearance of the desirable phenomena, and using arbitrary physical action to enforce the decree," is still characteristic of much of our present-day education and social work, and of almost all our legislative procedure and political action.

This method, Thomas points out, is equivalent to the magical stage in the development of natural science. While the method of common sense may be considered an advance over this magical procedure, it is still essentially primitive when contrasted with the method of science.

The Polish Peasant offers next, the first exhaustive study of what happens to an immigrant group in the process of adjustment to a new culture. To present a full view, the authors have studied their group not merely in America but in their European habitat.

The obvious, but often neglected truth is that the immigrant is not an individual who comes from a vacuum and enters another vacuum, but rather that he emerges from a peasant community that has already been more or less disorganized and enters a new village community of his countrymen in the midst of a large city, where his old values are subjected to strain that often reaches the breaking point. He does not cease to play a role in and be a part of his old-world community, but his experiences reverberate back upon the group from which he came, thus accelerating the process of disorganization there.

Not the least important aspect of The Polish Peasant, for the student of human behavior, is the method of collecting and treating source materials. The first volume consists almost entirely of immigrant letters collected in Europe and America. The value of letters and similar personal documents has, as a result of this study, risen considerably in the eyes of sociologists and social workers. Similarly, the vividly detailed, annotated Life-Record of an Immigrant, which takes up about a third of the second volume, has stimulated our appreciation of autobiographical materials in the analysis and treatment of behavior problems.

LOUIS WIRTH

The University of Chicago

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PLAY-MAKING IN A MODERN SCHOOL

(*Continued from page* 553)

nowadays to stimulate the impulse?

DIR. Partly. But a more fundamental cause is the dependence of our entire system of education on written and printed words. You probably don't know how many current juvenile books are in the form of printed plays.

PROD. Are they all bad?

DIR. By no means. But the mistake, from my point of view, is in placing printed plays in the hands of children. They should, I believe, work up the subject matter of a play for themselves. The moment children focus their attention on set speeches they let the other elements of their acting slip.

PROD. You're describing just the trouble with our professional actors nowadays. They really believe it's possible to act with voice and face alone.

DIR. I once had an interesting test of the relative value of improvisation and set dialog, with a group of nine-year-old children. Two new girls entered the group from a public school where they had given plays from printed books. They patronized a class which merely made up plays. The upshot was a demand for printed plays. The class teacher and I drew back for the time being and watched. At first the children got a great thrill out of doing plays the grown-up way. But with the monotonous repetition of set speeches the glamour was soon lost. Our boys and girls felt the production go dead on their hands. As constant criticism was levelled at the dull routine, even the two girls began to admit that perhaps a school play was more interesting if you made it up as you went along.

PROD. But how do you lead your children on to realize the limitations imposed on a play by its relation to an audience?

DIR. We begin by spending a good deal of time in a class discussion of the material. The main ideas are set down in rough descriptive form. Here the teacher's part is important. Often suggestions are made which an alert and creative teacher is able to value more truly than the group. She can also steer them away from old plots and give them the courage to experiment freely. If the teacher sees that a suggested episode is good narrative but bad theater, she can induce the children to put it to an immediate test, either in a pantomime or an improvisation of the idea. She often has one half the class try out the play while the other shares the position of audience with her. Playing audience to each other's rehearsals is one of the most direct ways of developing in the children a critical sense of what constitutes good dramatic entertainment.

PROD. And how do you go about making stage sets, costumes and other properties?

DIR. It is important when a group is attempting to arrange material in dramatic form to train them to think and feel about their production as a whole, to imagine not only the dialog but the settings and costumes, as well as the mood in which the scene is to be played.

PROD. Do you mean that children should be trained, consciously, to do several things—even several *new* things—at one and the same time?

DIR. Of course that is contrary to the accepted pedagogical theory: Concentrate on one thing until you can do it perfectly. But I meant what I said. The added effort of attempting to do several things simultaneously is amazingly educative. And incidentally, in the case of a play it improves the production as well as the children. But of course this method depends on a teacher who realizes its possibilities.

PROD. It seems to me you ought to have more time than is available in an ordinary school program for so fundamental a scheme.

DIR. That's perfectly true. This is how I've come to see the relation of these productions to the education of the future. I've always felt that the essence of life manifests in the form of pure and intense drama. I have always understood it as a dramatic opposition of forces and temperaments and ourselves as actors of rather limited roles. Suppose, then that this urge to play and pretend were taken seriously as the groundwork of education. I suggest that we might build a more complete plan of education by placing drama in its widest sense at the very foundation of a scheme.

PROD. That's an exciting idea.

DIR. What I'm imagining would lead not alone to a different focus of latent potentialities. It would ultimately include, in fresh guise, all those interests now classed as education.

PROD. I didn't assume that you meant to abolish reading and arithmetic.

DIR. But they would fall into a less important place, as useful tools, not ends in themselves. Many people would smile at this suggestion of mine and say, "You are simply projecting the play-school idea a step further." That's not what I'm after. It would mean work, hard work, all around. But the work might spring from elements more essential than those touched by current methods of schooling. We would base our school drama on study of the nature and potentiality of the children concerned. And the object of this new type of drama would not be play production as an end in itself but deeper individual self-knowledge and understanding of others.

PROD. How would you set about developing this? Certainly nothing else could be so important.

DIR. Our present education leaves us in a state of ignorance about ourselves and others that is simply colossal. Society as expressed in our present type of education is in a conspiracy to make us slaves to our own peculiarities. The world calls these tendencies, gifts or talents. But have you ever stopped to realize that specialization is really a lop-sided development of an individual? And the real job of education ought to be to develop what is still buried or less evolved in our natures.

PROD. What part of us do you consider buried?

DIR. About 90 per cent of what we really are is pushed out of sight by the time we're seven years old. Current standards force below the surface the most essential parts of our nature. We all learn to wear a mask with which to cut ourselves off from that whole self we might have been.

PROD. Aren't you simply referring to the Freudian unconscious in which most of our real wishes remain unsatisfied?

DIR. That, and more. You see, our ignorance of ourselves is not only on the emotional plane. We are quite as ignorant of the workings of our mental and physical life.

PROD. I don't follow you.

DIR. You are surprised at my suggesting that we're unconscious of our physical life. By that I mean the instinctive functioning of the life of this organism, the incessant mechanical reactions of these bodies of ours. They have all sorts of unique peculiarities of motion, gesture, tone of voice and posture. But in our present abysmal self-ignorance we can tell more about the habits of any other person's body than our own.

PROD. That's true. But I had taken that for granted. We can naturally see the other fellow better than ourselves.

DIR. What an admission of failure that implies! And how useless such information must really be. At bottom we are aware that we understand nothing unless we know ourselves. And yet we know that we understand any acquaintance better than our own self.

PROD. But how can we know ourselves in terms of the nature of our own bodies? Aren't you suggesting the impossible? Of course we can't see ourselves as others see us.

DIR. Now that is just what I am getting at. Why do we assume that our own bodies and natures must remain hidden and unknown to the one person who is on the most lasting and intimate terms with a given organism? Your assumption is the usual one. But because we know so little of ourselves is no proof that nothing can be done to improve the situation.

PROD. And how?

DIR. Not by more of the kind of education we already have. Nor by a mere uncovering of our unconscious emotional life can we penetrate to a complete basis for reeducation. We can't get away from this body that each of us has always with us and of which we know so little. To most people it would be useless to suggest what I am now saying to you: that efforts to become more aware of our own gesture, movements, tone of voice and general bodily habits through a special training in pantomime and allied arts for the playing of roles, might lead to a more profound self-knowledge and would therefore form a sound basis for an education of the future.

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ADVENTURES OF A WOMAN VOTER

(*Continued from page* 536)

evidently the intent of the legislature that no appointment should be made, he would abide by it, and he signed the bill.

Thus the trials and triumphs ended for that year. But though no word of reproach ever reached the chairman for that slip in the typed sheet, she looked back with envy upon happy days when there was no need of legislatures, for the laws were made in heaven and written without typographical errors on tables of stone.

About this time I began to marvel that an old book, called The Trials of Life, could have been condensed as recently as 1800 into but two volumes, for to keep grey skies a neutral tint, little boys were seen selling papers as of yore. Then began the long uphill law-enforcement struggle, with visits of a committee to the mayor, the safety director, the chief of police, and to school principals. There was no time for discouragement, but steadfastness and persistence had to be stretched over weary months, and the situation is still far from satisfactory.

Troubles were not coming singly, even in politics, and I recall a terrible meeting of that period. As the League of Women Voters' meeting-place was to be changed, it was allowed to convene in the Council chamber for its pre-election hearing of candidates. During the campaign the mayoralty fight had been bitter, and as this meeting was the last one before the fatal day, all the seats were taken long before the opening, and the aisles were crowded with people coming in to see the excitement. Some present were surprised that in its all-partisan policy, the League had invited the Socialist candidate to speak with the others, but his name was on the official ballot and the League knew the advantage of hearing all sides. The Socialist, however, proved the least disturbing of the speakers, for the mayor and the vice-mayor running against him, began to shake vouchers in each other's faces, and charges and counter-charges filled the air. This appeared to be the time for the chairman to have what is known as POISE, but the room did seem rather warm at times. However, the excitement cooled down, the candidates recovered their best behavior, and some of the bitterness escaped when we joined in a little laughter, the only thing left we could all do together.

Having a fellow-feeling for women in industry, I was ready to testify in another legislative adventure to my firm belief in the Minimum Wage Commission Bill as a preventive measure to keep women from going down below the life-line of normal living. Whoever wrote I Dreamt That I Dwelt in Marble Halls should have added a verse about the fatigue of lobbying back and forth on the stone floors of the State House. The first campaign was lost through an ugly political deal, and for the second attempt two years later, the women worked ardently to convince the legislators of the need to protect the 52 per cent of the working women in Ohio that government reports showed were receiving less than a living wage. But the manufacturers were not idle, and after long sessions through weary weeks, the matter was referred to a commission of the Assembly.

It was undeniable that the members' desks had been piled high with the studies of the United States government, of the Industrial Commission of Ohio, the Consumers' League and other authorities; that scientific material was put before them to prove the effect of the law in other countries and states. Though it represented an investigation of three years of employer, employe, and the effect on the public, few would read it, and the representative of the Manufacturers' Association called it "the uplift stuff with which the lady politicians were trying to save the world." The controversy ended temporarily by the Assembly appropriating five thousand dollars for their committee to visit Wisconsin, California and Massachusetts to

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GENERAL ELECTRIC

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find out the working of the law there, as well as to see the sights of the cities. All the friends of industry knew when that commission was appointed what the verdict would be.

At the first hearing in the State House various advocates spoke in defense of their measure. The part assigned to me was unexpected—not the actual conditions, nor the benefits of the law elsewhere, nor even an explanation of the bill itself, any one of which could have been an outlet for my eloquence, but I was left to the last and then hurriedly told by the chairman, who had been studying the effect of the other speakers, to *go to it*. Well, I did. But the Minimum Wage Commission Bill went too—down to its defeat in the adverse report brought in after months of public hearings over the state, at which, of course, the thousands needing the wage could not testify without being immediately discharged from their jobs. The decision of the Supreme Court making mandatory laws unconstitutional was later a death sentence, but the group that cares so much about the harm done by low wages may eventually find the way ahead to make justice for women in industry constitutional. There seems to be immortality for some bills, and that one may already have begun its future life—perhaps it is not dead but sleeping.

Toledo needed a full-time health commissioner. To put it abreast of progressive cities and to create an intelligent public opinion back of the movement, the League of Women Voters united with two leading health organizations to bring prominent speakers on the subject. An effort had to be made to get the officials out to hear them, and the press helped tremendously, but later a councilman, all on his own, introduced prematurely a resolution for a full-time man, and this threw the machine into action in order to continue its policy of non-action.

Those interested signified their desire to speak at the committee hearing on this bill, but to postpone decision, the matter was afterward referred to a smaller committee, whose chairman was a ward politician. Again the organizations sent representatives to the meeting in his club-rooms, and I can still see the glistening frosting on the cake with which he would bait us, and smell the coffee whose genial warmth was to enable them to drop the whole matter with good feeling all around. One of the city physicians told how satisfactory health conditions were, and another stated that there would not be work enough for a full-time man. But the mayor heard both sides impartially and had much material put before him to show what was meant by a modern health administrator. There things remained until the organizations brought another speaker on public health.

BY this time the citizens had discovered that Toledo did not have a full-time man, and the candidates in the mayoralty campaign were asked how they felt about engaging one, their replies being loud-pedaled. After election the change seemed assured as promised, but a visit later to the new mayor revealed that the money for it had not been put in the budget. That made it impossible to go ahead with the project, but the women could not help observing that money was found for other unexpected demands. Forewarned, the same representatives of the District Nurse Association, the Public Health Association, and the League of Women Voters called on the mayor before the budget was made for the following year, and he gave the joyful news that he had put it in. Even so, there was further delay, though this dream has now come true; but it required rigid observance of the laws of hygiene to keep that group strong enough themselves to stay with it until the city health could be improved.

The next adventure was in social hygiene. Of course, I knew that the last age had prayed in vain to get the prostitute into heaven, and that charity had built innumerable rescue homes from which she had escaped as soon as possible. But though our mothers had improved on their mothers' silence about sex and at least whispered about it, and our generation went to lectures on social hygiene, it was a subject toward which I was content to feel I was not drawn. Thus that committee in the league was more pretentious looking on the letterhead than in its endeavors, for it was a shy, undernourished little group with dissolving chairmen, inactive and invisible members.

One day, when all the League committees were thinking in opposite directions and interested members wanted to tell the president certain things she should know "for the good of the cause," when every hour was taken with a meeting, when the treasurer announced there was not enough money to pay the out-of-town speaker the following day, when the tax-papers had to be made out, and the cook was leaving, a reporter phoned to inquire if it were true that the chairman of social hygiene of the National League of Women Voters would be in town the following noon. Had the prayer of the righteous availed, she would not have arrived that week, but she did, and speedily introduced us to our venereal clinic, discussed the situation with representatives of the Vice Commission, the Public Health Association, and other societies, and talked to an interested group we had scrambled together for luncheon, looking at us reproachfully and saying: "You know your conditions are really very dreadful! Aren't you women going to do something about them?"

BY the time she had finished, we were all 100 per cent social hygiene workers. We were to visit the courts, the jail, and the Municipal Hospital, and to get the records three years back, to learn for ourselves of the discrimination against women in the punishment of sex offenses. We read later with zeal the leaflets, and copies of the Ohio law on sex offenses, with the Board of Health regulations on venereal disease. It was apparent the town was to be cleaned up. Then the valiant local chairman went after other women, and some honestly said that that line of work did not appeal to them, it was all too dirty to get mixed up in; it was a fine thing, but a few women would never be able to do anything about the *men;* others, that their husbands objected to their being thrown with that terrible class of people, and it needed certain types not naturally *sensitive* as they were, to do the work; but here and there a woman came forward, and then several ventured forth.

Meantime, the city was hard pressed for funds and a means of retrenchment lay in the venereal clinic. The town was agog with the advantage and disadvantage of the tax-payers continuing it, and after much discussion, the board of the League sent a letter to the City Council, stating its position in regard to the unholy alliance then existing between the police and health officers. The Ohio statutes of 1919 clearly defined prostitution as a crime for men and women, yet the police picked up diseased women prostitutes on suspicion and brought them in the patrol wagon to the hospital for compulsory treatment, making the disease and not the sex offense the crime. This policy, the letter pointed out, officially recognized an illegal situation that the police were merely expected to make hygienic, and to bring about a fundamental change, the League of Women Voters advocated law enforcement which would apply equally to men and women. It reminded the honorable body that the first effort to combat the ancient evil had been segregation, but only women were segregated; next came medical treatment, but only women were compelled to take it; and then came vice-repressive laws, but those too were enforced only against women who alone were brought into court, after which they were free to resume their wretched trade. This method was unfair to women, it was only partial protection to the public, and was certainly wasteful of the tax-payers' money. It asked that the Division of Health make available skilled relief to the diseased, but that the police should not be allowed to bring in women prostitutes to the clinic before they were convicted of a sex offense. To promote a single standard, the next step should be law-enforcement, by which men and women should be brought up for sex offense for which both would be charged.

THAT letter opened the long campaign against the worst of the old discriminations against women. The committee had asked at the clinic the method of receiving patients, the number of men and the number of women; they studied court records to find how many men were convicted as against the number of women; they consulted probation officers and policewomen; inspected the Detention Home and talked with the judges about the effect of low fines. Then a program was arranged for a public meeting on the Voter's Responsibility for Vice Conditions, with various authorities speaking; the report of the committee's findings was given, and an open letter was addressed to the mayor, asking why four hundred and twenty-two women were held against one man, when the general code

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applied to both sexes. Was it not a recognition of the double standard to enforce it against women only? Why was the injunction and abatement law against disorderly houses not enforced?—and other questions that the committee had not understood in their study of the city.

The mayor promptly invited the women to confer in his office. He was courtesy itself. Come what may, he was going to be a gentleman, and he patiently explained how simple it was when one was familiar with the difficulties: it was impossible to get evidence against the men. Then, said we, when two were guilty, why go on through the ages punishing only one? That did seem a bit unjust, and it became evident that explanations made it less clear to the women why, with good laws in Ohio, there was official acceptance of existing conditions. When a difference of opinion came about the wording of one of the statutes, he probably hoped to end the interview by promising to look it up.

Then the women did an unforgivable thing—they handed him the marked copy of the code that they had brought with them. There was nothing to do after that but for him to agree to talk with the chief of police and the prosecutor, and as the climax to a trying hour, the women asked what day they could return for the answer.

A day was set and then changed. That date had to be postponed. There were unavoidable delays. At the last minute the next appointment had to be called off. Again affairs of importance claimed His Honor's attention. Then those pestering women would write again, most respectfully inquiring when they could see the mayor. He finally succumbed, and many interviews were held in the City Hall with the officials responsible.

THE committee tried to remember certain rules: to know thoroughly what they were to discuss; to have the proof of any charge; to keep always to the point under discussion; to assume a willingness to cooperate on the part of those in control; to keep good-natured and not take too much of the officials' time. For instance, the mayor would state that after he had received a report of certain houses from the Council of Churches, he had had them closed, some nine times in a year. Then an address would be handed him of a place known to be protected. He resented at first any insinuation of graft, which was promptly disavowed in his own case. Then he promised to have the matter investigated. But it was pointed out that if the low fines did not check a repetition of the offenses, if prosecution were brought under the state law instead of the city ordinance, and prison sentences and stiffer fines given, it might not be necessary to close one house nine times.

One day the mayor delivered an address on the prevalence of vice which he believed was no worse here than elsewhere, for try as the administration would there would always be some breaking the law, and that he felt instead of resorting to the courts, which were slow at best, that the *strong arm* methods were more efficacious. In their ignorance, the women asked, Whose arm that would be? But he meant by that, notifying the underworld to leave town! When they asked then about the meaning of the majesty of the law, he smiled benignly at such credulity, though he admitted later that it was a vicious circle that fined a woman and then freed her to return to her old life, or drove her to another city for the few weeks of a local clean-up.

Needless to record, the newspapers were not averse to telling the city of these interviews, and week by week the women saw themselves on the front page with the big headlines of hold-ups and movie scandals; but now the new Municipal Hospital has no compulsory clinic, it is a general one where men and women can go of their free will. The county prosecutor, however, refused to bring a test case for the city under the injunction and abatement law, because *he did not believe in that law*—though the mayor, to his everlasting credit, had the evidence prepared for the prosecution. Here, unfortunately, the women fell down, owing to domestic casualties, and this neglect of official duty could not at that time be taken up. But before the election of the new prosecutor (the other being honored in the election as a Common Pleas judge), each candidate was asked if he would enforce that law, and the women will stay on that unfinished job.

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It had seemed some days that the committee would be the death of the mayor, and I regret to write of his demise, though I like to think that the women were a means of grace to him as he bore, with apoplectic forbearance, women's plans to change a situation by law enforcement that men had accepted as incurable. It was indeed a far cry from the old days of rescue work for fallen women to the modern view that legislative methods of injustice to women prostitutes could never be a basis for morality. The new plan goes after the profiteers of commercialized vice, not its victims.

Another adventure in politics was in regard to a psychiatric clinic for the courts, which the Women's Joint Legislative Committee had persuaded seventy-nine men and women's organizations to endorse. This represented some work, as in addition to the difficulty of spelling the word, there were its pronunciation and real meaning, and the news came too late in the campaign that authorities preferred the use of the words "mental clinic" in its stead. There was no opposition to its establishment: the judges favored it, and the county commissioners, under whose jurisdiction it came, were for it, both before and after election. The physician in charge of the county hospital was told by the commissioners to go ahead with his plans, and the doctor selected to head it went to Boston and took a preparatory course in the work. Consequently it was startling to be told one morning that the clinic was off as there was no money. A committee of men and women called upon the commissioners, and I shall never forget that humiliating demonstration of what is known as practical politics and boss rule. It was true they had thought it was possible to have the clinic; true that the trained people engaged had given up other positions, and would be out hundreds of dollars by the unfair cancellation; but it had developed there was no money; and after long pauses, the men avoided our eyes and looked sheepishly out of the window.

After consultations of the groups interested, the committee was advised to talk it over with the political boss who had held it up. They were told they must deal with the politicians themselves, if political matters were to be decided, and the women, as a last resort, called upon the head of the party in power. It was apparent a bad day had gone before, and his usual suave manner was worn off in patches. He would be only too glad to have the administration have money for every good thing, but owing to the extravagance of the preceding political party, there was barely enough to get through the year, and with the budget before him he summed up impressively how necessary all the other items were. But when reminded that money had been found for a worthy object not originally included, the interpolation won no favor for the intercessors. Then it was explained that the clinic would later save the county more than its cost, but the patronizing answer was that he wished he might share our enthusiasm, and when its success was mentioned in other cities, he smilingly ended the interview by announcing he was willing for others to make the jazz experiments. Thus the power of one man blighted the growth of democracy.

THE whole sad tale was told the women in open meeting, and there is the work to do over by going back to plough the ground again and to plant more seeds among the organizations that the belated harvest may yet be gathered, and more of the misguided salvaged by the courts.

In the last analysis, if the results of these adventures in politics were weighed, there would be little measurable gain. Women are not allowed to share equally with men in the important offices of the parties; there are still some under-age newsboys on the downtown streets; broken families badly mended in the court; underpaid women in industry; avoidable sickness in the community; commercialized vice rampant in our midst; the political boss flourishes, and the indifference of the voters is chronic. There are still no women, even mothers —ridiculous as it is—allowed on the board of the Children's Home, the Board of Education nor the City Council.

But the women's part is to work for these dreams to come true, not to stop to check up the results that can only be apparent as one measures progress by decades and contrasts conditions ten years ago and now. Many times it is difficult to know which changes are most needed, but if Browning is right and there is no lost good, such of the endeavors as were wise may remain as foundations for future building. No one

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who cares for a cause more than for life itself should waste energy complaining of public indifference, or of the lack of workers, for some one has pointed out there must be the sense of time of the geologist, and who knows but that which is invisible today may be slowly taking form for tomorrow? Meantime we are learning.

Women voters have no monopoly of the political virtues, but what some of them have taught me by their information and consecration has so enriched my memories that these little adventures in politics have been among the most blessed adventures of my life.

HOW PAY SICKNESS BILLS?

(*Continued from page* 543)

amount—$40,000 to $50,000—while upon some 300 families illness falls so lightly that altogether they pay out less than $10,000. With families of large income the expense figures will be larger; with smaller incomes they will be less; but always the expenditures will be highly uneven and always any particular family will be uncertain into which group—happy or unhappy—it will fall.

Recently 114 members of the Washington office staff of the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported their sickness expenditures for a year for publication in the Bureau's Monthly Review. Their grand total was $13,992, an average of $123 per family. But 19 families, or less than one-sixth of the group, had to spend $6,878, practically one-half of the total, an average of $362 for each of these burdened few. At the other extreme, there were 64 people, or 56 per cent, who paid out only 20 per cent of the whole amount. These 114 persons were largely single men or women or had very small families. Their salaries mostly ran under $2,000, very few exceeding $3,000. Is it because they live in Washington that they show a higher average amount spent for sickness than the other groups so far studied? With them, as with the others, half the financial burden falls on one-sixth of their number.

"Against fire, flood and pestilence, good Lord deliver us." Against industrial accident and death, organized insurance now says to over 30,000,000 Americans, "Against their financial consequences we deliver you." Why not, also against the inviting uncertainties of sickness? Obviously the way to ease an uneven burden is to distribute it; but the principle is more simple than its application. Death is easily provable, rarely sought, and not to be counterfeited. Sickness may be too easily provable! One can buy sickness insurance policies from commercial insurance companies, but the varieties and vaguenesses of sickness and the likelihood that when policies are sold to individuals the more sickly people will be the chief customers, have caused the rates to be high and the benefits usually restricted.

Writing insurance for groups of people instead of for individuals—groups already organized on the basis of neighborhood, occupation, or fraternal association, wipes out the danger of selecting the sickly risks, and greatly cheapens the insurance. Hopeful beginnings at group sickness insurance for employes of some establishments have been made and this form of self-protection is increasing.

Merely to appreciate the necessity of distributing the burden is of itself an enormous step forward. Once recognize the insurance principle as the only sound foundation for dealing with an uneven and uncertain financial burden, and the intelligence and ingenuity of Americans will grapple with ways and means of applying the principle successfully. The checks will become clear of the stupid budget-making which has figured out annual allowances for sickness on the same basis as for the regularly recurrent needs for food and clothing—budget-making sins of which commercial, labor and (save the mark!) medical and charitable organizations alike have been guilty. In the recent report on The Cost of Living in Twelve Industrial Cities, issued by the National Industrial Conference Board, we read (pages 45-46): "However, the wage-earner living on a fair, minimum, American standard should have a sufficient income to pay for the expenses arising from illness, and there has been allowed in this budget, therefore, an arbitrary amount of twenty cents weekly for each member of the family to cover the hazard of illness. This will pay for ordinary care of health, including teeth, eyes and occasional special attention."

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We need not stop to consider whether the sum of $10.40 per year per individual is sufficient. From what we know of the uneven incidence of illness, we see as human facts that even if a thousand families of four persons each could secure satisfactory care for an "average" of only $51 a year, about 840 of these families would spend only about $31 while 160 would be faced with an average burden of $162.50, which is as high as one-tenth of the annual "average minimim cost of maintaining a fair American Standard of Living" (in these cities), as estimated by the board.

Once recognize the facts of the uneven financial burden of sickness, and we cannot fail to grasp the insurance principle. Taking hold of the principle will not solve the problem; but until we have accepted it we are not even upon the track.

As we go up in the economic scale to individuals with incomes of $1,500 to $3,000 and families who have $2,500 to $5,000 a year, there is usually some margin over necessities and "minimum comforts," and sickness is not a serious financial problem if there is not too much of it. Of a thousand such families, only the 200 (or less) upon whom high-cost sickness will fall in any given year, will face financial difficulty. For the middle classes the sharp edge of the sickness burden would be removed if they could insure against high-cost sickness. For them—for most of the readers of this magazine—the nub of the situation is here.

IS such insurance practicable? Can such sickness be defined and segregated in insurable terms and, if so, what would be the cost of insurance against it? High-cost sickness is too varied to be definable medically as such; but in city life most of it has these characteristics—it is predominantly major surgery and it is mostly cared for in the hospital. There are high-cost illnesses which fall into neither of these categories, but a large proportion do.

Can insurance against the cost of surgery and hospital care be devised and marketed? Have we facts sufficient to define the frequency and cost and therefore the necessary insurance rates? Available material is scanty, but if the resources of business and research organizations were put at work to collect more, a mass of data could be secured from accessible sources. From such facts as have come to me, I believe the cost of such insurance would be less than ten dollars per year per person, if any considerable unselected group were insured, and that it would be an attractive offering to the "middle class" who, while only a small percentage of the people of this country, are strategic and voiceful. Such insurance would have immense significance not only to the families benefited, but also to the hospitals and doctors whose earnings it would stabilize from this vitally important section of the public.

A critic tells how one of his friends had a bill of one thousand dollars for an appendix operation, and another one of five thousand for a serious mastoid. "How," he asks, "can you expect any insurance rates to cover professional fees in addition to hospital charges, as of course they must do if the insurance is to be of much use?"

Such sceptics must be reminded that surgical fees in four figures happen much less frequently than they are talked about, and that only a minute fraction of the 43,000,000 gainfully employed persons in this country have incomes sufficient to make such fees reasonable. With the costs of medical service among those with incomes of over $10,000 a year—much less than one per cent of the 43,000,000—we need not be greatly concerned. The large majority of surgeons will find it much to their interest to receive a moderate but certainly paid fee from persons who now enter hospital wards and pay a ward rate to the hospital but no fee at all to the doctor; and from persons who now secure care as private or semi-private patients, but whose professional bills are not paid or are paid only in part. Patients, doctors and hospitals have much to gain from any plan which, without interference with the patient's choice of doctor or of the doctor's personal relation to his patient, will place in the patient's hand the money with which to meet the financial obligations of sickness.

WITHIN the last few years, over two and a half million middle-class persons in Germany who are above the upper financial limits of the compulsory insurance system, have taken out policies with insurance companies according to which they may employ the doctors and hospitals of their own choice and secure from the insurance company 85 per cent of the charges. The fact that they must pay the remaining 15 per cent out of their own pockets is reported to be a pervasive and effective check upon abuse of the plan. A Berlin university professor said to me last year, "Any serious illness in my family would mean that we should have to be charity patients if it were not for this insurance." The 85 per cent idea may be worth incorporating in an American plan.

INSURANCE against high-cost sickness will touch the "middle classes" only. The distribution of the financial burden of sickness is more important for those who sit on less secure economic foundations. But it is a question whether these many people can pay for adequate medical service, even if its expense is distributed, unless the present cost of private service is reduced. Here we need facts, just such facts as it may be hoped the studies of the national Committee on the Cost of Medical Care will furnish, on the expense of various forms of care and the remuneration of the physicians and other agents furnishing it. How far down in the economic levels of the population the voluntary insurance principle will take us we can not know until we have sounded out much more fully, first, the possibilities of increasing the readiness of the population to spend more money for the care of sickness; second, the possibilities of reducing the cost of adequate service.

The purely financial aspects of the burden of sickness are comparatively simple as compared with the professional side. Thus far this article has dealt only with finance. Reduction in the cost of service, if this is possible without sacrifice of real efficiency, means dealing with professional and financial aspects together—wrestling with such problems as the wastes due to unnecessary overhead; to the confusions of specialism; to the over-elaboration of medical procedures and the evil of fee-splitting; the wastes due to over-built, under-used or poorly administered hospitals—problems in which the lay public shares responsibility with the professional, and in the solution of which both must cooperate.

Such problems require in a vast and varied country like America, not only "study" but also practical experimentation. That they are live problems is evidenced by the fact that medical and lay groups are now "experimenting" in numberless ways. Doctors in the Middle West have established group clinics to reduce the cost of office overhead and to improve service through the professional benefits of organized cooperation. Eastern cities establish non-commercial but self-supporting pay clinics providing medical care at cost "for persons of moderate means." Mining companies have, more or less of necessity, organized plans of medical service for employes and their families living in isolated communities, usually sharing the expense with the employes. A great industry in a city in New York State has established and finances a complete system of medical care for the employes and their dependents in hospital, home and doctor's offices. Five mills in a southern town have joined in building a hospital and in a self-supporting insurance scheme for the workers and their families, opening this also to the general population of the locality. A medical-service company has been operating in one section of New York City for years, providing considerable though not complete service to its members for an annual fee. County medical societies are cooperating with health departments in experiments whereby inoculations against diphtheria or smallpox and other personal services in preventive medicine, will be done not by salaried doctors but by physicians selected and paid by the family.

SOME schools and numerous important colleges have set up for their students, a few also for their faculties, systems of organized service for which most of the expense is covered by a fixed annual fee. Hospitals all over the United States are advertising their interest in "the patient of moderate means;" a few have made an agreement with their medical staffs whereby persons of "especially moderate" incomes receive service for a rate which covers both the doctor's and the hospital's charges and is collected by the hospital through which the doctor receives his fee. Patients who cannot bridge that wide financial gap between ward care in which the doctor gets nothing, and the two or three times higher cost of the usual semi-private service, can thus secure hospital care at a rate they can pay and

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the doctor will receive a definite remuneration instead of nothing.

These and numerous other undertakings in which physicians and laymen are cooperating, are only drops in the bucket as furnishing service to a nation of 120,000,000 people, but as contributions to the policies, methods and financing of some future plans in which the benefits of modern scientific medicine can be brought to Everyman's door, they may be significant. Only the test of experiment can determine either their medical adequacy or their expense.

We may be sure that the complex and intimate elements which permeate the professional aspect of the sickness problem render it impossible that any simple or universally applicable plan of simplifying and improving medical service while at the same time reducing its cost, can be applied throughout this country on any machine-made or standardized scheme. Care in sickness is intimately personal. It touches deep emotions. It is not a field for wholesale dealing. Its problems are not to be solved by the panacea of some universal legislative scheme of state insurance, nor by the panacea of keeping things as they are. Perhaps panaceas are useful as bogies to keep extremists busy and help other people to see the boundaries of the road. Three principles we may hold fast to: first, that medical care must be personal in order to be effective; second, that medical service must be organized in order to be either effective or economical; and third, that the financial burden of sickness must be distributed if people are to escape either charity or neglect.

A QUAKER EMPLOYER BUILDS A COMPANY UNION

(*Continued from page* 547)

rates and for such periods of time as may hereafter be determined by a committee authorized by the Executive Committee of the company.

The administration of this fund is in the hands of a joint committee comprising three members annually elected by council and two annually appointed by the Executive Committee of the company. Any employe laid off or put on part-time because of lack of work, whose annual compensation is less than $2,600 and who has not signed a definite written statement that his or her employment is temporary, is entitled to share in the fund. The periods of unemployment compensation range from three weeks for employes of three months' standing, to twenty-six weeks for those whose service has extended over five years or more. Employes with dependents receive 75 per cent, and employes without dependents 50 per cent of their wages for the normal work-week. The same percentages apply in compensation for hours lost through reduction of the working week below forty-four hours. Moreover, workers transferred from their regular jobs to jobs paying a lower rate are entitled to the same percentage of the difference between earnings on the two jobs and for the same length of time.

And finally, at the instance of the management, a committee of council worked out with one of the great insurance companies a retirement pension plan which assures superannuated employes a moderate income upon retirement. Under this plan, the company has purchased for all employes who have been with it five years or more, an annuity, payable upon retirement, for men at the age of seventy, for women at the age of sixty-five, equal to 2 per cent of their earnings with the company at date (1927). For those who thereafter voluntarily participated in the plan by purchasing income annuity, it is the company's intention to purchase each year for each employe of five years' standing or more a service annuity equivalent to 2 per cent of the employe's earnings for the year. For employes who do not so participate, service annuities will amount to 1 per cent of salary, instead of 2 per cent. In all cases, however, the accrued annuities for the five-year period before the employe becomes eligible for the service annuity will be 2 per cent of the total salary of that five-year period. Thus, if an individual's earnings at the retirement age total $45,000, the total service annuity payable for life after the retirement age will be 2 per cent of $45,000, or $900 per year—$75 per month. The maximum service annuity will be $150 per month. The income annuity,

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however, added to the service annuity may substantially increase this amount.

This is only a rough summary of the major achievements of the cooperative committees of council and management. The question immediately arises as to the degree to which these social measures are an expression of democratic opinion. For the fact is, that after the first active years when the major problems were those of hours and wages and the regulation of discharge, the initiative came largely from management.

If one compares this record with that of the most successful trade unions, one finds that while actual accomplishments run closely parallel, the initiative under union-management cooperation has very consistently been maintained by the elected representatives of the workers. Nevertheless in such cases, too, the initiative has rarely come from the ranks, but from the executives of the union and their technical advisers. In the independent union, as well as in the company union, one of the most serious problems of leadership is to keep alive the interest of the rank and file once acceptable standards of hours and wages have been established.

The question which my critical friends have most frequently raised is whether under such a plan as the L. and N. Cooperative Association the workers are actually free and *feel themselves free* to raise issues of importance to themselves. I have had unlimited opportunity to discuss the matter, both with executives and rank and file workers, under a great variety of conditions. I have come to the conclusion that the testimony of one of the men now at the bench, whose long period of service here was interrupted by some years of employment in other establishments, may be taken as characteristic.

"When I make favorable comments on such a organization as you have here," I said to him one day, "there is a tendency upon the part of my labor friends to say that the workers are not free to discuss such matters as you and I have been discussing. Do you yourself feel under restraint in discussing them with me?"

"I always feel free to criticize, condemn or anything else," he answered. "It is taken as it is given."

"When you answer my questions," I continued, "are you weighing your answers against what your foreman may think?"

"No, I am answering them as you ask them. I can talk that way here. But I have been in plants where I would not care to talk that way, where the attitude of the management makes the employes feel it is not their place to criticize or take any interest in anything. I think it is more or less the Cooperative Association here that makes you feel free."

MANY critics of company unionism would say that the conditions surrounding hiring and firing constitute the acid test of independence, just as critics of the trade unions contend that one of the greatest evils of the closed union shop is the domineering business agent and his arbitrary protection of incompetence. Under the constitution of the L. and N. Cooperative Association, the council has created an appeal board to which all employes are urged to carry grievances, especially in case of discharge. To be sure, the decisions of this board must be approved by the management and to this fact critics may naturally attribute the very small number of appeals made by discharged workers. During the entire year 1925, for example, there were only three such appeals. In two cases the discharge was sustained; in one case the board recommended reinstatement and the management adopted this verdict. Inasmuch as the average working force during 1925 numbered four hundred and eighty-seven men and women, with one hundred and thirty-eight exits, of whom twenty-seven were discharged, this seems an incredibly small number of appeals.

An analysis of the discharge procedure in the L. and N. Company goes far to explain the mystery. No foreman may discharge any workman on his own judgment. If he is for any reason dissatisfied with an employe he states his dissatisfaction to the committee which reviews the performance of all workers once every three months, and he also consults the head of the employment department and the factory superintendent. Even when they concur with his judgment, he may not finally discharge any one without the approval of the factory manager, who subjects the entire record to careful scrutiny.

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Members of the rank and file have explained the small number of appeals in much the same terms. After the most careful search, I have not found a single instance in which an employe was discharged for anything which might remotely be considered a matter of opinion, or in the nature of "union activity," or for any similar cause.

In the files of a magazine published by a school maintained by the Quakers, I found a paper which Morris Leeds had read in the Third Month, 1902.

"Labor organizations," he there said, "have probably done most to improve conditions of the laboring people and it seems to me that our attitude toward them, wherever we have occasion to come in contact with them, should be one of sympathy and discriminating support."

FOLLOWING this cue, I cross-questioned a number of the older employes to discover whether at any time they had attempted to form a trade union. They vaguely recalled that in the very early days one of their number had joined a union and had attempted to organize a local.

"What was the name of that union?" I asked one of the men who had belonged to it.

"The Instrument Makers' Union," he answered.

"Was it affiliated with any national union?"

"Yes, with the Metal Workers' Union."

"Did you come in contact with officials of the Metal Workers' Union?"

"No."

"Did you formulate any demands when you organized?"

"No."

"Did you discuss your organization with any of the executives of the company?"

"Yes, we discussed it with Dr. Northrup and Mr. Leeds so that if we were to start a union they would not have anything against it."

"What was the nature of that discussion?"

"I do not remember."

"How long did the union last?"

"The man who started it was a good mechanic. He was elected president. He thought he would get pretty good pay out of the union, but he did not do so, so he left and it fell apart. He was the first one who got out of the union and so the rest got out too; one by one we just dropped out."

From that day to this none of the workers in the factory has manifested the slightest interest in the larger social idealism which characterizes the organized labor movement at its best.

Practically all of the workers I interviewed realized that the conditions under which they work are exceptionally good, but not one of them has shown the slightest disposition to help workers in other establishments win similar advantages. Their general attitude seemed to be that there is nothing which they could gain by affiliation with trade unions. When I told one of the older workers about the sacrifices which I had seen workers in the needle trades, for example, make not only for fellow-workers in other shops, but for workers in other industries who were struggling to attain such standards of hours and wages as they themselves enjoyed, his only answer was to shake his head and say smilingly, "I suppose we are rather self-satisfied."

This ingrowing quality of company unionism even at its best, which I have noted not only in the Leeds and Northrup factory, but also in the Sperry Gyroscope factory and the West Lynn factory of the General Electric Company, has been the subject of frequent discussion between Morris Leeds and myself. He has not been disposed to take it lightly. During the past year he initiated a conference of a number of company union representatives to consider their common industrial and social interests. He eagerly participated in a conference with a number of trade union leaders, called to promote an objective attitude toward all experiments in industrial government.

In the course of this conference, he suggested that in historical retrospect it might be found that neither trade unions as they now exist, important as he recognized their services to be, nor company unions at their best, represented the final form of industrial relations. Both in their kind might some years hence be seen as experiments. In a letter commenting on my West Lynn article, he summarized his attitude:

(*Continued on page* 573)

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by

NELS ANDERSON

Instructor in Sociology
Seth Low College of Columbia University

and

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

Professor of Social Philosophy
New York School of Social Work

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NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS—Lewis H. Carris, Managing Director; Mrs. Winifred Hathaway, Associate Director; B. Franklin Rover, M.D., Medical Director; Eleanor P. Brown, Secretary, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York. Studies scientific advances in medical and pedagogical knowledge and disseminates practical information as to ways of preventing blindness and conserving sight. Literature, exhibits, lantern slides, lectures, charts and co-operation in sight-saving projects available on request.

THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR INSTITUTION EXECUTIVES AND OTHER WORKERS—At the Children's Village, Dobbs-Ferry-on-Hudson, New York. To furnish adequate training to properly qualified people wishing to engage in, or already engaged in, institution work. Provides opportunity for carefully guided study in all phases of institution management and activities. Aims to furnish a trained personnel for child caring Institutions. The first and only school of its kind in the country. For further information address Leon C. Faulkner, Managing Director.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE—For social service among Negroes. L. Hollingsworth Wood, pres.; Eugene Kinckle Jones, exec. sec'y; 17 Madison Ave., New York. Establishes committees of white and colored people to work out community problems. Trains Negro social workers. Publishes "Opportunity"—a "journal of Negro life."

NATIONAL WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE—Mrs. Raymond Robins, honorary president; Miss Rose Schneiderman, president; 311 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION—Mrs. Ella A. Boole, president; Headquarters, 1730 Chicago Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. To secure effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, to advance the welfare of the American people through the department of Child Welfare, Economics of Prohibition, Social Morality, Scientific Temperance Instruction, Racial Groups, and other allied fields of endeavor. Official publication: "The Union Signal" published at Headquarters.

PLAYGROUND AND RECREATION ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA—315 Fourth Ave., New York City. Joseph Lee, president; H. S. Braucher, secretary. To bring to every boy and girl and citizen of America an adequate opportunity for wholesome, happy play and recreation. Playgrounds, community centers, swimming pools, athletics, music, drama, camping, home play, are all means to this end.

RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION—Improvement of Living Conditions—John M. Glenn, dir.; 130 E. 22nd St., New York. Departments: Charity Organization. Delinquency and Penology, Industrial Studies, Library, Recreation, Remedial Loans, Statistics, Surveys and Exhibits. The publications of the Russell Sage Foundation offer to the public in practical and inexpensive form some of the most important results of its work. Catalogue sent upon request.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE—An institution for the training of Negro Youth; an experiment in race adjustment in the Black Belt of the South; furnishes information on all phases of the race problem and of the Tuskegee idea and methods; Robert R. Moton, principal; W. H. Carter, treasurer; A. L. Holsey, secretary, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

THE WOMEN'S FOUNDATION FOR HEALTH, Inc.—370 Seventh Ave., New York. Lenna L. Means, M.D., Med. Dir. To create, among the apparently well, an individual and community health consciousness by interpreting the technique of the health examination and a definitely prescribed health building program with Positive Health as the ultimate goal. Official Text: Handbook on Positive Health, $1.50. Courses in Good Body Mechanics adapted to group and individual needs.

WORKER'S EDUCATION BUREAU OF AMERICA—A cooperative Educational Agency for the promotion of Adult Education among Industrial Workers. 476 West 24th Street, New York City. Spencer Miller Jr., Secretary.

(*Continued from page* 569)

My own feeling is that the most satisfactory progress will be made if we have alongside of each other in this country the development of both types of labor organization. . . . I think that an enlightened management developing the company union idea has an opportunity to work out happier conditions of labor than are likely to be developed under the trade union idea, but this is very unlikely to happen in any large number of cases unless under some spur of necessity. This will be given if there are successful trade union organizations and each should react on the other in a beneficial way.

This attitude has recently received interesting support through the action of one of the great trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In the May, 1928, issue of the Journal of Electrical Workers, the victory of the American Federation of Labor in the injunction suit brought by the Interborough Rapid Transit Company to restrain the federation from attempting to organize its company union employes, is hailed as meaning "a change in the historical course of American business."

Now the protagonist in this campaign to organize the Interborough employes was the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America. On March 25, 1928, this A. F. of L. union signed an agreement with the Mitten Management of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, which deals with its employes both in Philadelphia and in Buffalo through company unions.

So far as Philadelphia and Buffalo are concerned [runs this agreement] conditions there are to remain as at present, insofar as organization activities are concerned, it being desirable that the situation on these properties so remain as at present in order that the standard of economic excellence of these companies now being operated by Mitten Management be the standard by which union performance in cooperation with Mitten Management on their properties shall be measured. . . . It is now understood and agreed that the activities of the Amalgamated in this respect shall be restricted to properties that are to be acquired or operated by Mitten Management in the future.

In the opening paragraph of this article, I referred to my former doctrinaire attitude toward the trade unions in the past tense. Increasingly, however, as I study the development of industrial government, I not only agree with Morris Leeds that "labor organizations have probably done most to improve the conditions of the laboring people," but also that they are likely to do most in the future. The condition of this possible service, however, is that they must adopt the experimental attitude and master those scientific procedures which are implicit in the Mitten-Mahon agreement and to which such organizations as the Leeds and Northrup Co-operative Association owe their existence.

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Address Advertising Department — **THE SURVEY** — 112 East 19th Street New York City

WORKERS WANTED

WANTED: Assistant head worker for settlement house in New York City. Must understand children's work. State qualifications. 6191 SURVEY.

WANTED: Married couple. Man to act as Boys Supervisor and woman to act as supervisor of primary department, ages three to six. State age, experience and training and salary expected in your first letter with photo. Children's Home in state of Pa. 6186 SURVEY.

WANTED: A Head Nurse for Jewish sanatorium. Applications must be accompanied by photograph and full professional and personal information. Address Medical Director, P. O. Box 537, Denver, Colorado.

TRAINED and experienced teacher for adult immigrants in New York Settlement. Full time resident position. 6178 SURVEY.

WANTED: Experienced boys' worker, afternoon and evenings or evenings only for settlement house in New York City. Must know how to direct clubs. Address 6184 SURVEY.

WANTED: Experienced woman as boys' supervisor; training and ability essential; small progressive institution. Open September 1. Address 6176 SURVEY.

GRADUATE NURSES, dietitians, laboratory technicians for excellent hospital positions everywhere. Write for free book now. Aznoe's Central Registry for Nurses, 30 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois.

WANTED: Woman with experience and training to take charge of babies department ages from three to seven. About sixteen children assigned to the department. Send references, training, salary expected and photo in first letter. Institution located in the East. 6187 SURVEY.

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Herewith declares vacancies in the following positions:

1. Supervisor Boys' Department — Jewish young man, single, with good educational and cultural background and successful experience in handling adolescent boys.
2. Supervisor Girls' Department — Jewish young woman, single, qualifications same as in No. 1.
3. Supervisor for younger girls — Jewish young woman, single, preferably with a kindergarten or recreational work background, must be sympathetic.
4. After Care Worker and general Investigator—mature Jewish young woman with case-work experience.

Only people with strong pleasing personalities and with potential executive ability will be considered.

Good salaries and good prospects for right persons.

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MEN interested in advancing in the field of institution and social work are wanted as students in The National Training School for Institution Executives and Other Workers. See classified Ad on Page 575.

Workers Available Now!

Social Welfare and Religious Organizations: Executive secretaries, Family Case workers, Club and Recreation leaders, Psychiatric Social workers, Public Health Nurses, Child Welfare workers, Church secretaries, Directors of Religious Education and Administrtaion personnel.

Institutions: Superintendents and assistants, Children's supervisors and matrons, Teachers, Nurses, Housekeepers, Dietitians, etc.

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Our service to employers is without charge. Communicate by letter or telephone.

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The COLLEGIATE SERVICE, Inc.

Occupational Bureau for College Women

11 East 44th Street
New York City

Social Work Dept. in charge of Pauline R. Strode, Ph.B. University of Chicago and graduate of Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy

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WANTED

WOMAN: Capable executive, experienced, for Director of Hospital Social Service Department. Hospital now undergoing considerable expansion program. Write fully, stating age, education, training and experience. Maurice Dubin, Mt. Sinai Hospital, Fifth and Reed Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.

WANTED: Secretary, as head of department dealing with group and community activities in foreign communities by October first. 6192 SURVEY.

WANTED: Headworker for small, well equipped settlement house in New York City. Applications will be treated in confidence and should give detailed information regarding age, salary desired, experience, training, education and aims. 6200 SURVEY.

SUPERINTENDENT required by Jewish Home to take care of boys from 8 to 16 years of age. State education, age, and experience. 6201 SURVEY.

SITUATIONS WANTED

EXECUTIVE, at present engaged as executive director large institution, New York City; available responsible position administrative business management. Highly educated, speaks several languages, creative ideas, systematizer. Forceful. Thorough knowledge music (piano, directing, sight reading), expert typist. Married. 36 years of age. One daughter fifteen. Would consider maintenance. Wife expert house manager. Highest credentials. 6183 SURVEY.

POSITION as Superintendent in small institution for boys, have had fifteen years experience. Can furnish splendid references. 6193 SURVEY.

"Home-Making as a Profession"

Is a 30-pp. ill. handbook—it's FREE. Home-study Domestic Science courses, for teaching, institution management, etc., and for home making efficiency.

Am. School of Home Economics, 849 E. 58th St., Chicago

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SITUATIONS WANTED

WOMAN of long experience, recreation work, wants part time position in dramatics, folk or ball room dancing in New York City or Chicago. Address 6190 SURVEY.

COMMUNITY CENTER EXECUTIVE (Jewish) available for part-time, settlement, community or synagogue center in New York City. Ten years experience. College graduate. Graduate social work study. 6196 SURVEY.

COLLEGE GRADUATE, A.B. and A.M. degrees, experience in case work and as office secretary, wishes position as case or settlement worker in South. 6189 SURVEY.

SUCCESSFUL WOMAN EXECUTIVE (Jewish). Twelve years experience. Highest credentials. Will be available after October 1st to direct settlement, center or orphan home. Apply 6155 SURVEY.

REGISTERED NURSE, experienced in care of children and institutional work, desires position where such experience will prove an asset. Children needing convalescent care, or motherless children. Suburbs of New York preferred. Available, after September first. Address Box 6173 SURVEY.

MIDDLE-AGED MARRIED MAN desires position as executive in orphanage or small school for delinquent children. Has completed course of training in institution work. Excellent references available. 6157 SURVEY.

WANTED: Position by young college woman with several years experience as assistant superintendent in large institution. Graduate dietitian. Special ability with girls. Can put institution on feet financially if behind on budget. Excellent references. 6162 SURVEY.

SINGLE, middle aged poultryman, thoroughly experienced, open for position. Knows gardening and care of lawns; handy with tools, also painting. Excellent references. 6179 SURVEY.

EXPERIENCED WOMAN desires position as Resident Director or Executive Secretary in Settlement, Community Center or Girls' Club. 6147 SURVEY.

WANTED: Position in settlement or institution by boys' worker with five years experience. A.B. degree. Wife has teaching and settlement experience. Can do light work. 6171 SURVEY.

MAN, 36, college graduate, executive, adaptable, varied experience, fourteen years constructive social work with large Jewish organization, available for institutional work or welfare organization. 6199 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN, teacher, desires part time resident position in settlement or institution in or very near New York City. 6204 SURVEY.

YOUNG MAN desires preventive and after care work with juveniles or director in settlement, well trained, progressive, experienced worker. 6195 SURVEY.

JS

MORE than an employment bureau. An exchange of advice and information between workers and agencies in the fields of social work and public health nursing.

WANTED NOW

Headworker, settlement, middle west.
Organizer and executive, Episcopalian preferred, south.
Visitor, children's agency, east.
Organizer, employment work for handicapped, middle west.
School nurse, middle west.
Asst. director, visiting nurse, east.
County nurse, west coast.

Joint Vocational Service
(Agency)
130 EAST 22nd STREET
NEW YORK

TRAINED, competent executive; man of proven ability, desires change. Now superintendent of large city welfare organization, with 27 paid workers. Possesses initiative, experienced in Welfare activities. 6188 SURVEY.

YOUNG WOMAN, teacher, desires resident position in institution in or about New York. 6202 SURVEY.

A SUPERINTENDENT, a college graduate with wide experience with Delinquent and Dependent Boys will be available in the near future. Familiar with every detail of institution work, farm, shop, school and recreational activities. Experience has been in State and private institutions. 6159 SURVEY.

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In the Social Field
EXECUTIVES ASSISTANTS?

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If you have no further need for your Surveys of the following dates, will you be good enough to return them for our use?

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January 1

1927
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——for trained executive and other workers in institutions?

Do you realize the constant demand from Boards of Directors for practically trained workers to fill important positions?

The new National Training School for Institution Executives and other Workers at the Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, offers practical, technical training, for this field.

The first and only school of its type in the country.

Warmly endorsed by State Departments of Welfare and Boards of Institutional Control.

Fall Course of Twelve Weeks Opens October 1, 1928. Registration Now Open.

For further information address

LEON C. FAULKNER, *Managing Director*

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WANTED: A young man interested in recreational work to share a four-room apartment with two other men in a model tenement house for $12 a month plus two periods of work per week. Telephone Drydock 9099. 6197 SURVEY.

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Big Profits in Home Cooking
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American School of Home Economics, 849 E. 58th Street, Chicago

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A Large Brick House Spacious grounds, attractive neighborhood, in a wide-awake Mid-Western city will be given to a reliable organization representing church or charitable interests for one-third of the actual cost price. Account of organization activities should be presented. 6198 SURVEY.

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RENT A VACATION COTTAGE in quiet New Hampshire hills. Equipped for six. Rent $40 a month. Olive Cadbury, Council of Social Agencies, Indianapolis.

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Address Advertising Department
THE SURVEY
112 East 19th Street, New York City

PAMPHLETS

CANDY MAKING FOR PROFIT, by Alice Bradley, illus. folder describing home-study course, with "work sheet" formulas, sales plans, equipment, etc., for APPROVED Home-Made Candies; free with sample "work sheet". Am. Sch. of Economics, 5772 Drexel Ave., Chicago.

JUNIOR CIVICS collects news and views of scattered causes of youth's self-government throughout America. "Outlook" size, monthly, dollar per year, edited by Junior Republic graduate. Box 381, Litchfield, Conn.

"TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP, A Practical Program Based Upon Many Years of Experience." Philip L. Seman, Jewish People's Institute, 3500 Douglas Blvd., Chicago, Illinois. Single Copy $.50.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NURSING shows the part which trained nurses are taking in the betterment of the world. Put it in your library. $3.00 a year. 19 W. Main St., Rochester, N. Y.

MENTAL HYGIENE: quarterly: $3.00 a year; published by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Avenue, New York.

THE CORPORATION AND ITS COMMUNITY

(*Continued from page* 540)

Nevertheless the labor turnover was of such serious proportions that it commanded the attention of the entire organization. After a thorough study of the situation it was discovered that living conditions in the city were not good, public health was not properly safeguarded, facilities had not been provided for proper use of leisure time and many other factors which are known to make a more contented, stable force were lacking. The corporation immediately went at the task of bettering these conditions and found a ready response in lower turnover and thus lower costs. The earning capacity of the company was, of course, raised to a higher level as a result.

Nobody wants to live where there are not adequate hospital facilities, proper sanitation and recreational and intellectual opportunities. The returns which come to a corporation from better social conditions are so positive and unmistakable that there can be no question as to whether or not participation in community activities is profitable, from a purely selfish dollar-and-cent viewpoint. The experience of many of our corporations in personnel and community work, the activities of many of our insurance companies in work of this sort are a great tribute to their business sagacity as well as to their humanitarian instincts.

In considering the relationship of a corporation to community welfare there is one factor which is rarely mentioned. It is the part which the corporation staff should and very often does play in personally helping to work out these problems. In my home city the greatest assistance is given all movements looking to civic betterment by the executives and personnel of the plants. Many of them serve on boards of directors and committees and hundreds annually take part in the community chest campaign. Many of them are young men and they all bring to this work a fresh point of view, a trained and searching analysis of the problems presented and tremendous vigor in putting things across.

In spite of the fact that financial participation seems the point most often stressed, it would appear to be an open question whether this type of service is not more valuable than just dollar-support of a project. It brings to social work a young, keen point of view, one that must be "shown," and it builds the corporation into the community life as nothing else will. Of course the ideal situation is to have both types of support—financial and personal, and it is my belief that this is coming with great rapidity in our American communities. Corporations are not slow to accept responsibility, but they must be "shown." The result should be helpful to all.

One other factor should be mentioned. As every one knows, a corporation is allowed to deduct as expense in figuring income tax, payments on account of plant welfare work, taxes, etc., but not contributions to such organizations as community chests. Part of the tax which is paid may be doing exactly the type of work done by community chest agencies, but the former may be deducted and the latter not. Individuals get credit for contributions, but not corporations. More and more are corporations coming to consider that payments to community chests and like organizations are part of the expense of doing business and that they should be allowed as deductible expense items as such. There is a direct return to a corporation from a contented, prosperous staff and the work of a privately financed hospital contributes to this return in exactly the same way that an efficient public health department does. It is my conviction that they should be considered alike by the government for income-tax purposes, and it is my hope that this can be adjusted in the not distant future.

One might go further, especially in quoting the words of such men as Secretary of Commerce Hoover, who spoke at the Citizens' Conference on Community Welfare in Washington in February. Mr. Hoover pointed out that "All these things are the tests of the spiritual development of men and communities." Further, that "no civilization can stand which disregards the things of the spirit and the test of real progress of a nation is the standard of moral and spiritual force in our national life." It may seem a far cry from workaday corporation activity to the ideas quoted above, but the corporations which are recognizing the intangible values in their relationships with their staffs and their communities are the ones which are building soundly for the future of American industry.

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